



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

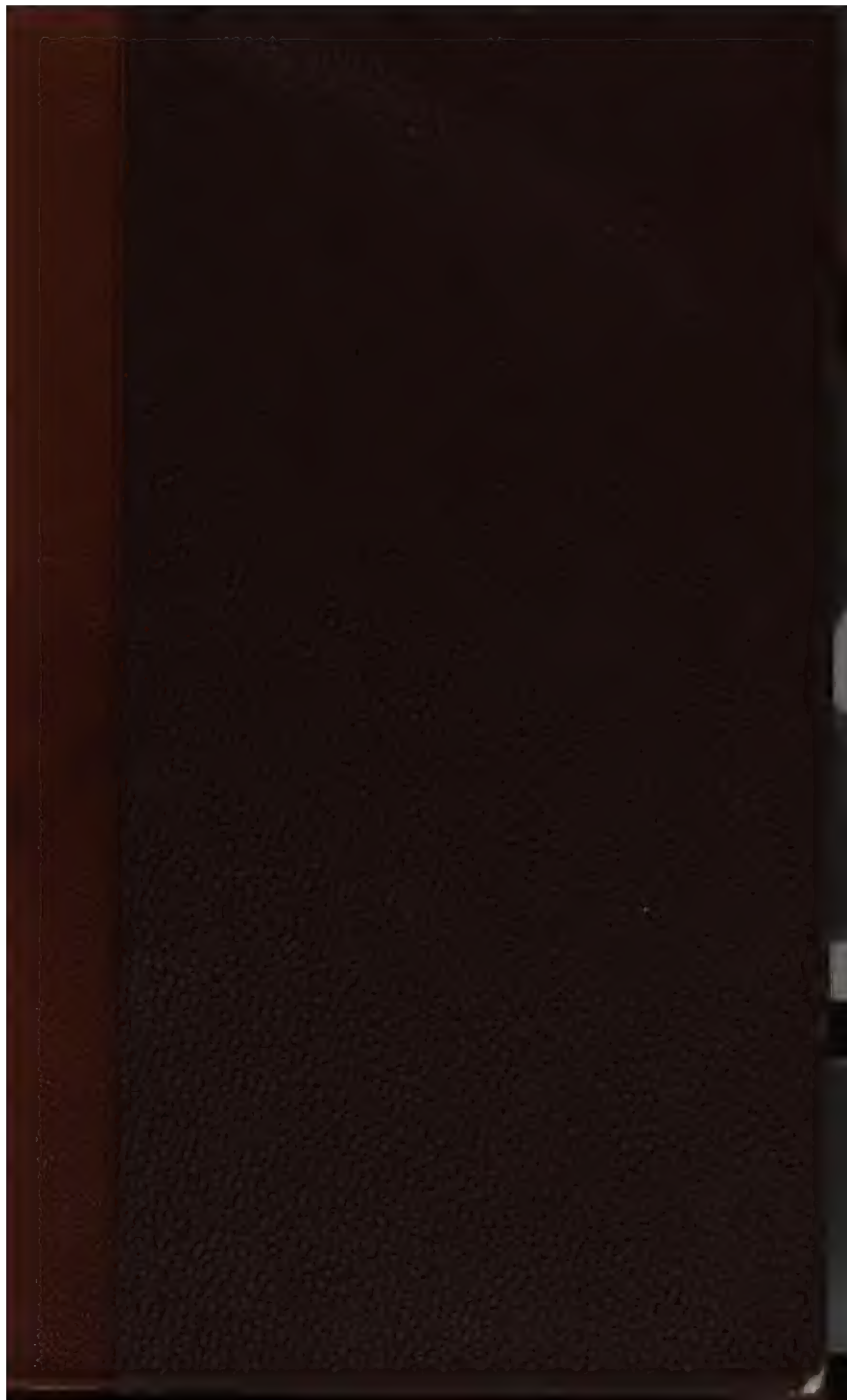
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

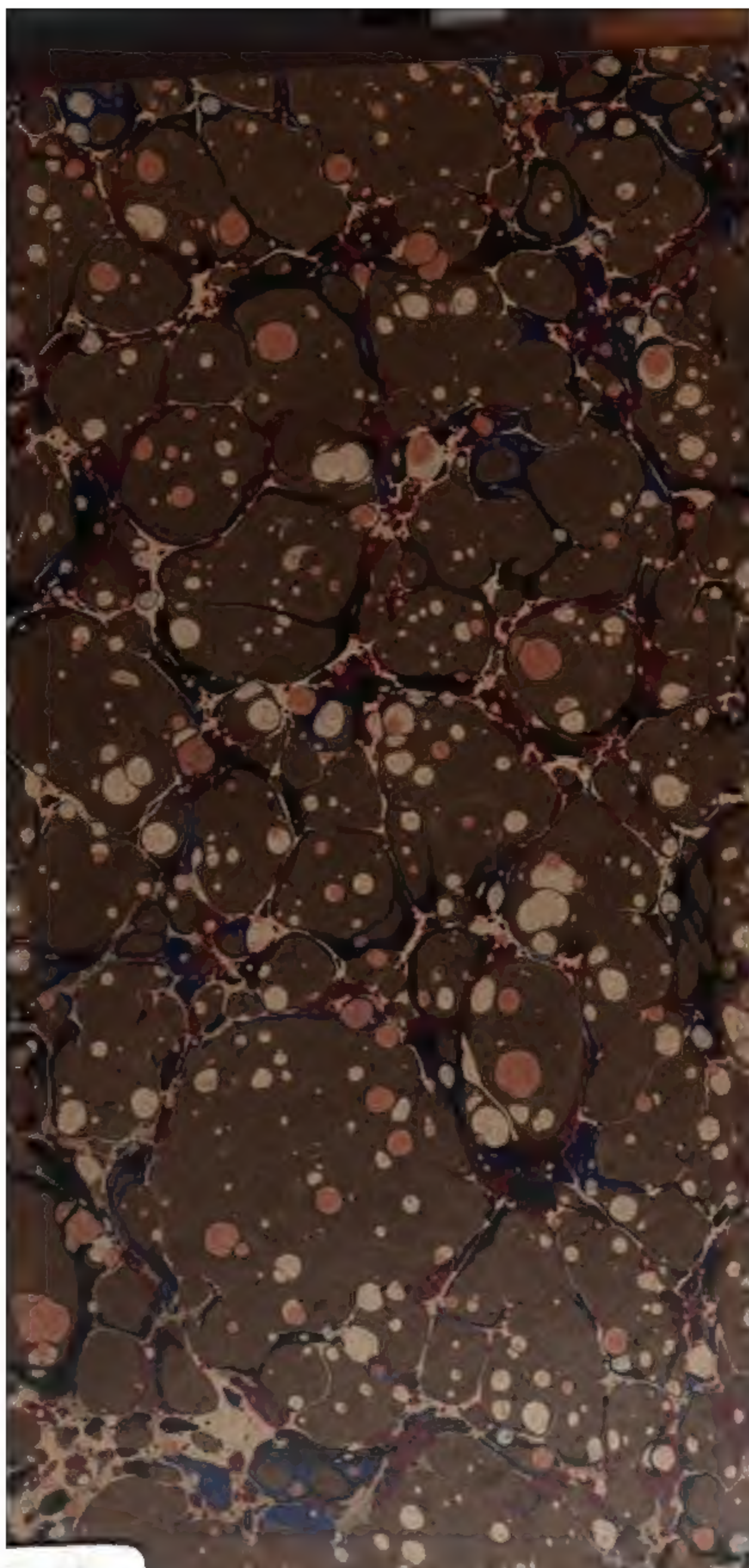
We also ask that you:

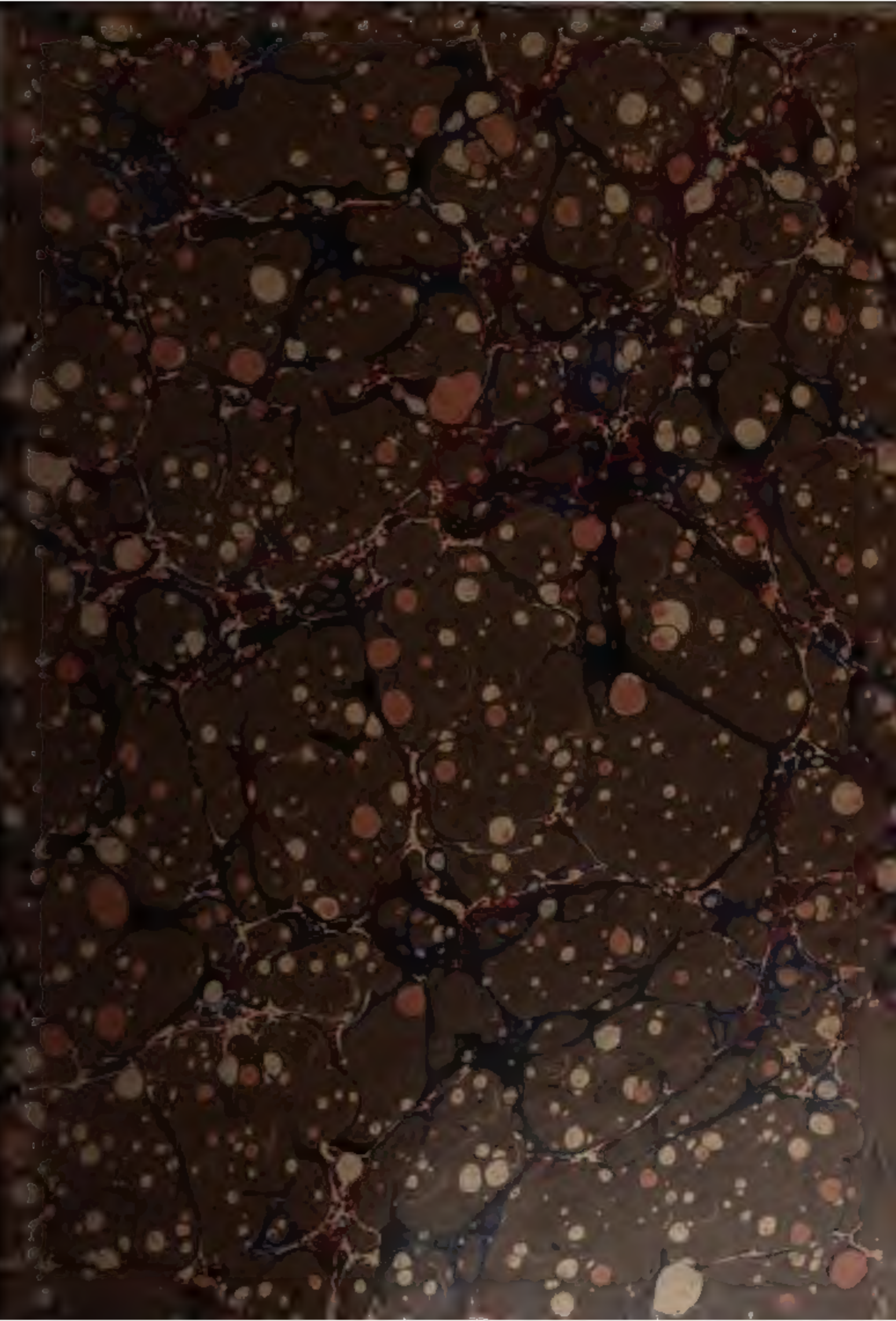
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







No 61.

126157
4293

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1873.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1874.

⑥

Horace Dani

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1873.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1874.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	14
BOOKS AND TRACTS IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGE	45
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	63
DONORS AND DONATIONS	70
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	80
EARLY MAPS IN MUNICH	83
ROBERT DUDLEY AND HIS ARCANO DEL MARE	93
CONNECTIONS BY MARRIAGE OF COLUMBUS	97
MEMORANDUM AS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO .	101
MEMORIAL OF GOVERNOR ENDECOTT	113

80235

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1873, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL. D., read the report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their annual reports.

All the above were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

In answer to a question by Dr. S. A. GREEN, on the subject of Eliot's Bible, Mr. TRUMBULL said that he supposed Eliot used the Geneva Bible as the basis of his translation. Eliot was familiar with the Hebrew and Greek languages, and it is to be presumed made more or less use of the original versions.

In answer to inquiry with reference to his dictionary of the words used in Eliot's Bible, Mr. TRUMBULL stated that it is substantially completed. The President of the Society expressed the hope that it would not long be suffered to

remain in manuscript form. Mr. TRUMBULL was also asked whether in his opinion the modern Indians, whose ancestors used the language in which it is written, can read Eliot's Bible; to which he replied that the difference in the dialect as used now and then, is comparatively trifling, and any difficulty arising from it could, with a little diligence, be readily overcome.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE gave some account of the early maps of the Atlantic and of America, which he had seen in the Royal Library at Munich, last June. His notes will be found at the close of the report of the Council.

Before reading them, Mr. HALE said that he might claim to have been "in at the death" of the fabulous Island of Brazil, said to have been discovered by Cabot on his first voyage. As he had had something to say regarding this island before the Society some years since, he could not but mention the fact that it was at last off the charts. In crossing to England in the steamer *Siberia*, in April, Mr. HALE observed the spot marked "Brazil," on the Admiralty chart used by the ship, and called the attention of Capt. Harrison to it. "Yes," said that distinguished officer, "you see our ships have sailed over the place hundreds of times, but it is very hard to get an error off the chart when it has once got on."

This island of Brazil is represented as large as Ireland on some of the early charts, about one-third across the Atlantic to the west of Ireland. It grows smaller and smaller, from century to century, till on the charts of this generation it appears only as a point with the legend "I. Brazil."

On returning to America, in July, in the steamship *Calabria*, Mr. HALE called the attention of the captain to this

long continued error,—and he also spoke of the difficulty of getting an error off the chart. He unrolled his chart to point out the “I Brazil” to a bystander, and it was not there! The chart was a recent issue, and the false rock had been at last withdrawn.

After Mr. HALE had read that part of his notes which relate to Sir Robert Dudley’s *Arcano del Mare*, Hon. Mr. HOAR said that a part of that curious book was to be found in the Worcester Public Library. It is one volume of the second edition, which was found in sheets at a Worcester importing house (Mr. Grout’s), purchased and bound for the Library. It fortunately contains one of the curious maps of the California Coast which has reference to Drake’s harbor on that shore.

Mr. HALE continued. The set of the *Arcano del Mare* in Harvard College Library, is complete and is of the first edition, which is now very rare.

It is impossible not to notice the curious *bottle-shape* of the bays represented about the neighborhood of Sir Francis Drake’s bay and the bay of San Francisco. It is to be observed that there are two nearly similar very near each other. On the supposition (which Mr. HALE threw out) that Thomas Cavendish, who was Dudley’s father-in-law, furnished the original material for this map,—it is quite possible that he had heard of the Golden Gate, and the open bay within. Mr. Doyle’s and Mr. Washburn’s papers leave no doubt that the Spaniards had no knowledge of this remarkable estuary, before the discovery of 1769.

Mr. HAVEN inquired whether there was not some connection between Robert Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, spoken of in Mr. HALE’s paper, and Sir Thomas Smith,

Governor of the Virginia Company, alluding further to the relationships which existed among the persons engaged in the early expeditions to this country. Mr. HALE replied that he thought there was.

Hon. PETER C. BACON thought that the cold experienced by some of the early voyagers on the coast of California and Oregon must have been in exceptional years, for modern residents of Oregon find a mild climate, and roses blooming in every month of the year. He also spoke of the discovery in England of a letter written by Gov. Winthrop soon after his arrival in this country, which contains probably the first written allusion to the neighboring mountains, Wachusett and Monadnock.

Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH read a paper relating to the connections by marriage of Christopher Columbus, which is printed with the proceedings of this meeting.

Mr. WASHBURN, after some allusion to Mr. HALE's paper and the *Arcano del Mare*, said :

In the report of the Council, read at the semi-annual meeting in Boston, in 1872, the question of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco was incidentally discussed. The theory, now generally abandoned, that Sir F. Drake saw it, was after statement of the arguments on the one side and the other rejected, as well as that suggested by some writers that this honor might be awarded to Cabrillo or Ferello. The opinion, which had been adopted by some extremely reputable authorities, conspicuously Greenhow, that Viscaïno entered the bay, was confuted at considerable length, and the argument from internal evidence was held, even if unsupported by any other, to be conclusive that that opinion is erroneous. The conclusion reached in the report was

that the first well authenticated discovery of the bay was made by a party of Franciscan missionaries.

It will be gratifying to the Society, as it was to the author of that report, to know that it has excited some interest among the members of the Historical Society of California, one of whom, Mr. John T. Doyle, an eminent lawyer of San Francisco, has written a memorandum on the subject, in vindication of the general views and conclusions of the report. This memorandum, as will be seen, is based on the Journal of Father Crespi, which is contained in Father Palou's Notices of Upper California, a most interesting and valuable work, which is now being re-printed by the California Historical Society, under the supervision of Mr. Doyle. The existence of this work was known to the author of the report, but it was not cited, as it was not found convenient to obtain a copy by which the citation could be verified. It is spoken of however in Taylor's "Bibliografia Californica," a valuable index to the existing literature on the subject of the early history of that country, though the notice there contained does not allude to the journal of Father Crespi.*

* Our library is now possessed of a nearly complete set of "The Indianology of California," (wanting only No. 49), by Mr. ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR, of Santa Barbara, one of our associates. The work is unique, and was published at San Francisco, in consecutive issues of the "California Farmer," from 1860 to 1863, arranged in four series of 150 separate numbers, and only six complete sets were saved. It is an extensive historical and ethnological collection of matters relating to the Indian tribes of the two Californias and of Alaska. The notations commence with the discoveries of Cabrillo, in 1540, and extend to later information, from the Indian Bureau and other sources, to 1863.

Mr. TAYLOR wrote in May, 1873, that he had re-constructed and re-arranged this curious work in 50 numbers, transposing and condensing the matter and adding valuable notes, to December, 1872.

Mr. TAYLOR says, in a recent communication. "From much study of this subject, I am convinced that the old Indian civilization of North America took its rise among the progenitors of the Zuni, and other Pueblo Indian tribes of New Mexico, who were Toltecs, or predecessors of the Aztecs, and afterwards

The arrival of the copy of the re-publication for which this Society has subscribed will be awaited with no little interest by those members with whom the subject of the history of the Pacific coast has become a favorite one.

Mr. WASHBURN then read Mr. Doyle's paper, prefacing it with some introductory observations of his own, which will be found in the proceedings.

The President of the Society, in announcing the gift by our associate, Judge ENDICOTT, of a portrait of his ancestor, read a memorial of Gov. Endicott, which he had prepared, and which is printed with the proceedings of this meeting.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the warmest thanks of the Society are presented to our associate, Hon. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, one of the Judges

spread themselves not only up and down the Mississippi Valley but over both sides of the Sierra Madre to the South, even as far as the Isthmus of Panama; their great strongholds were the great valleys of Mexico, Oaxaca, Michoacan, Yucatan, Tobasco, Colima, Guatamala and Salvador. From New Mexico to Panama, the Metates or stone table corn-grinders, the flint-edged swords or Macacas, jasper and quartz knives and arrow heads, stone mortars, pottery, cotton clothing, shell money, etc., etc., all assimilate; and their great storied platform buildings and ruins all seem to have been constructed after the models of the present Pueblo Indian castellated towns of Tacos, Zuni, Jemes, etc. The household utensils and those of war, found in the Huacals or old cemeteries of Chiriqui of Panama, are the same or nearly so. as those of Mexico City, or of the New Mexico towns. The old Spanish Explorers and Missionaries from Arizona to Panama. from 1550 to 1750, all coincide remarkably; except that, south of Mexico City parallel, to that of Guatemala City, great constructions were made of regular stone architecture, the Arizona and New Mexico ones being of adobe. It ought to be remembered that there are still *ten millions of Indians* from the Isthmus of Panama to the Arctic Sea, and in many parts of South Mexico and Central America they are little changed since the Spanish conquests of 1540 to 1600."

Mr. T. adds, "In my '*Bibliografia Californica*,' which I have re-arranged and greatly added to up to December. 1872. (as much as one-half to the contents of the newspaper issues in the '*Sacramento Union*' of 1863 and 1866) I have made very valuable additions to the works relating to the two Californias and to the Indian tribes, language and history, of Mexico and Central America—great numbers written before the year 1800. I hope one of these days to see the Indian work and the Bibliography volume in some publisher's hands."

of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, for his most desirable gift of an accurate copy of a beautiful portrait, preserved by his family, of his great and good ancestor, John Endicott, the first Governor in Massachusetts Bay.

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution shall be presented to Judge ENDICOTT by the Recording Secretary.

Rev. R. C. WATERSTON exhibited some interesting photographs of Indians, accompanying them with brief explanations. Mr. WATERSTON would have made further remarks, in reference to some books he had brought for the purpose of presentation to the Society, but was prevented from doing so by the lateness of the hour.

Dr. HENRY WHEATLAND and Dr. GEORGE CHANDLER were appointed a committee to receive the ballots for President, and they reported that the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY was unanimously chosen.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Rev. Dr. PEABODY, and Col. DAVIS were appointed a committee to retire and report a list of the remaining officers, to be balloted for by the Society. They made the following report, and the gentlemen named were unanimously chosen by ballot.

Vice Presidents:

Hon. BENJ. F. THOMAS, LL.D., of Boston.

JAMES LENOX, Esq., of New York.

Council :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D., of Boston.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.

Mr. HALE briefly alluded to the memorial to Capt. John Smith, which it has been proposed that this Society should erect in the church of St. Sepulchre, in London.

On motion of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the chair with authority to have the inscription recut, and to erect the memorial, not however to act till they shall have secured the requisite funds, and the Council shall have approved the plan.

The chair appointed as the committee, Messrs. HOAR, HAVEN and HALE.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN compliance with the By-Laws, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully present their semi-annual Report.

The Reports of the Librarian and Treasurer, presently to be submitted, show that the Society comes to its sixty-first anniversary with its affairs in prosperous condition, and that, during the last six months, its resources have been gradually enlarged, by valuable additions to its library and cabinet, as well as by increase of the aggregate of its several funds ; that its members have not been inactive, or forgetful of their relations to the Society ; and that friends on whose co-operation it has a less direct claim have continued to be generous in contributing to its collections.

The Librarian reports accessions, by donation, exchange, and purchase, of 715 books, 2346 pamphlets, 130 volumes of newspapers, more than 200 photographs, maps, and lithographs, and a number of Indian implements. In the list of donations are found works, printed or in manuscript, by eleven members of the Society. A fine copy of the original portrait of Governor John Endicott has been presented to the Library by one of his descendants.

The Treasurer's Report shows that the funds of the Society now amount to \$78,721.06, an increase of \$2,875.83 since the last annual meeting.

To these reports, which have been adopted as a part of the Report of the Council, reference is made for the details of the Society's progress.

In the Report of the Council, presented by Mr. Paine, at the semi-annual meeting in April, brief mention was made of Eliot's Indian Bible—copies of which, in both editions, are in our library—and the titles of several tracts in the same language were given. These books have other and higher value than that which mere rarity imparts to them in the estimation of collectors. They are precious memorials of the zeal and devotion of Eliot and his successors in labors for the welfare of the Indians of New England. But to students of language they have special value, as text-books in a well-defined dialect of that great Algonkin language which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was spoken over an extent of territory half as large as Europe; and these texts are the more trustworthy because they were written before the speech of the natives of New England was essentially modified by intercourse with foreigners.

A complete and accurate descriptive catalogue of books printed in New England for the use of the Indians, is still a desideratum in American bibliography. The want of it has been no slight hindrance to the compilation and revision of Dr. Haven's catalogue of American books printed before 1775, which is so largely to enhance the value of the Society's new edition of Thomas's History of Printing.

It has been suggested that something may be done towards supplying this deficiency, by presenting with this report such a list as can now be made of works printed in the Indian language, at Cambridge and Boston, before 1775. That this

list will prove to be absolutely complete, or accurate in every detail, is not to be expected. All of these little books are rare; some are of extreme rarity, only one or two copies being known. Of a few early printed tracts, it has not been easy to obtain even abbreviated titles, or descriptions sufficiently exact for identification.

To a catalogue of books prepared for the use of the Indians, some notice of the origin and early progress of Indian missions in New England may not inappropriately serve as an introduction.

The Charter of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England declares that to “wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian faythe,” was, in the “royall intention and the adventurers free profession, *the principall ende of this plantation.*” Before the charter had passed the seals, the Governor of the company wrote to Endicott in New England: “We trust you will not be unmindfull of the mayne end of our plantation, by indevoringe to bring y^e Indians to the knowledge of the gospell;” and the company’s first general letter of instructions reminds him, again, that “the propagating of the Gosple is the thing [wee] doe profess above all to bee o^r ayme in setling this plantation.” The oath administered to the Governor and Deputy Governor bound them to “do [their] best endeavo^r to draw on the natives of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the true God.” And that these pledges might be had in perpetual remembrance, on the seal provided in England for the colony, an Indian with extended hands, raised the Macedonian cry, “Come over and help us.” Thus

the conversion of the natives was not only the chief work which the undertakers for the settlement of Massachusetts proposed to accomplish, but its prosecution was made, as it were, a condition-precedent of their charter. And this was equally true of the earlier grant to the Council of Plymouth in 1620, (the great patent of New England,) in which the king declares that "the principall effect which [he] can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts, unto the true worship of God and Christian religion." "The mutuall and interchangeable pact and covenant of donor and receiver is, in all those charters and patents, *the conversion of the heathen*" — wrote Thomas Thorowgood, in 1650.* So Edward Winslow and the Plymouth colonists understood it. In the "Brief Relation" printed in 1622, he declares, that "for the conversion [of the natives] we intend to be as careful as of our own happiiness; and as diligent to provide them tutors for their breeding and bringing up of their children of both sexes, as to advance any other business whatsoever, for that we acknowledge ourselves specially bound thereunto."

"To endeavor, so far as in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise that New England people had made unto their King when he granted them their patent," was one and "not the least" of the motives which impelled John Eliot to devote himself to the work of Christianizing the Indians of Massachusetts.† "That publick ingagement"—he wrote to a friend in England in 1659—"together with pity to the poor Indians, and desire

*Jewes in America, p. 91.

†Gookin, Hist. Collections, &c., 170.

to make the name of Christ chief in these dark ends of the earth—and not the rewards of men—were the very first and chief movers, if I know what did first and chiefly move in my heart, when God was pleased to put upon me that work of preaching to them.”*

Reasons enough may be found why so little was done by the colonists of Massachusetts, before Eliot entered on his work, to discharge the obligation incurred by acceptance of the charter. “Though some men have spoken mean things of them”—to quote Thorowgood again†—“in reference to their labours in that way, as if they had been negligent therein, such men consider not, I fear, how long their countrymen have been wrastling with divers difficulties, and busily employing their minds and time in providing outward accommodations for themselves in a strange land.” Self-preservation was plainly the first duty. Ignorance of the Indian language seemed for a time an insuperable bar to mission work. Moreover, an idea generally prevailed, that Indians must be taught English, before they could receive religious truths. Mr. Dunster “wanted not opposition” (Lachford tells us,) because he maintained the novel proposition “that the way to instruct the Indians must be in *their own language*, not English.”‡ Then again it was argued that civilization must precede Christianity, or (as a writer of the time expressed it,) that “such as are so extremely degenerate must be brought to some *civility* before religion can prosper or the Word take place.”§ Whatever anticipations of an eager acceptance of the Gospel by the natives may have been entertained by the

* *Life of Eliot*, Pt. 2, (1880), p. 18.

† *Life of Eliot*, Pt. 2, [Plaine Dealing, 53. § *The Day Breaking, &c.*, 20.

colonists before coming to New England, were dispelled by nearer acquaintance with Indian life and character. For beads and strong-water, trucking cloth and fire-arms, the red man's receptivity was ample. To the new religion he manifested indifference if not aversion. When envoys from the Narragansetts or the Connecticut tribes besought the colonists of the Bay to "come over and help" them against their rivals, the help they asked was not the sword of the spirit. "Wee are upbraided by some of our countrymen," said one of the ministers of Massachusetts, in 1646, "that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of natives; such men have surely more spleen than judgment, and know not the vast distance of natives from common civility, almost humanity itself."* The church, it was urged, must wait for "miraculous and extraordinary gifts," before attempting to civilize or convert beings so degraded; and the last encouragement to effort seemed to be taken away when Mr. Cotton showed from the Apocalypse that the conversion of any heathen nation must not be expected until after the coming in of the Jews.† Roger Williams accepted this interpretation,‡ and so, probably, did Eliot. Dr. Twiss (afterwards President of the Westminster Assembly) wrote in 1634 to Dr. Joseph Mede: "We have heard lately, divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives." In 1641, Thomas Lechford expressed his "doubt [that] there hath been and is much neglect of endeavors, to teach,

* The Day Breaking 19.

† Winthrop, ii. 30; Lechford, 21; The Day Breaking, (1647.) 19, 20.

‡ Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, p. 13. At a later period, Increase Mather maintained this position, in his *Discourse concerning the Salvation of the Tribes of Israel*.

civilize and convert the Indian nations that are about the plantations ;”* and a few years later, Robert Baylie, the presbyterian, declared that the Independents of New England were, “of all that ever crossed the American seas, the most neglectful of the work of conversion.”†

To the general indifference — or what seemed to be such — there were some noteworthy exceptions. First (in order of time at least) the labors of Roger Williams are to be had in remembrance. While he was living at Plymouth and Salem, it was his “soul’s desire to the natives good,” and “God was pleased to give him a painful, patient spirit, to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, to gain their tongue.”‡ The author of “New England’s Prospect,” who returned to England in 1633, mentions “one of the English preachers,” who, “in a speciall good intent of doing good to their [the Indians’] soules, hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he is so good a proficient that he can speake to their understanding, and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsell;” and before Williams’s settlement at Providence in 1636, he had acquired such a proficiency in the language that he “could debate with them in a great measure in their own tongue.” His *Key into the Language of America* was printed in London, in 1643. When the author returned to New England in 1644, he brought with him the special commendation of “his printed Indian labours”, by prominent members of the Parliament; and moreover, he brought for the colony he had founded, a much desired charter—

*Plain Dealing, 57.

†A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, (London, 1645,) p. 60.

‡Knowles’ Memoir of R. Williams, 52, 109.

which these Indian labors may have had no small influence in obtaining.

The interest manifested by Henry Dunster, president of the college at Cambridge, in the instruction of the Indians, has already been alluded to. "He hath the platforme and way of conversion of the Natives' indifferent right"—concedes the querulous Lechford—"and much studies the same. . . . He will make it good, that the way to instruct the Indians, must be in their owne language, not English; and that their language may be perfected."*

The younger Mayhew and his work on Martha's Vineyard, deserve more ample notice than may be given here. In 1643—the year in which Williams printed his *Key*—Thomas Mayhew had the satisfaction of seeing the first fruit of his labors, in the conversion of Hiacoomes; and before the end of 1650, a hundred Indians of the Vineyard had embraced Christianity. In 1646, Mayhew attained such mastery of the language as to preach to the Indians without the help of an interpreter.

Two years before the publication of Williams's *Key*, William Castell, a minister in Northamptonshire, addressed a petition to the Parliament, setting forth "the great and generall neglect of this Kingdome, in not propagating the glorious Gospel in America." Alleging that the English plantations in New England and Virginia had, "as yet, been to small purpose for the converting of the Indian nations," and that there was "little or no hope these plantations should be of any long continuance," he urged the establishment of a strong colony, south of Virginia, to which emi-

* Plain Dealing, 53.

grants might go, assured of the protection of Parliament, and "with a generall consent in God's cause, for the promoting of the Gospel and inlarging of his Church." Mr. Castell's proposition was approved, and commended to the consideration of Parliament, by seventy-six ministers, representing the church of England, non-conformists, and presbyterians.* The same year (1641) Hugh Peter and Thomas Welde (Mr. Eliot's colleague in the church of Roxbury) were sent to England, by the General Court of Massachusetts, "upon some weighty occasions for the good of the country."† The chief object of their mission seems to have been "to procure men or money, or both, for the colony, which was then sorely straitened;‡ but they were instructed not "to seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging, or the like." It appears that one part of their business was to collect funds for the preaching of the gospel to the natives, but Dr. Palfrey (after examination of Welde's manuscripts relating to this matter) infers "that the business of evangelizing the Indians was not prominent among Welde's objects, and still less among those of Peter."§

* This petition is reprinted in Force's Tracts, Vol. I. About this time was published "Certain Inducements to well-minded People, to transport Themselves into the *West Indies*, for the propagating of the Gospel and increase of Trade." The first inducement presented by the writer of this tract is, that "there seems to bee a great Gate opened to the Gospel's entrance upon the Indians." † Mass. Records, i. 332.

‡ Endicott's Letter to J. Winthrop, in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 139: comp. Winthrop, ii. 25, 26, 31.

§ Hist. of N. E., i. 584. After the collections for propagating the gospel among the Indians were entrusted to the Commissioners of the United Colonies—instead of being directly transmitted to Massachusetts—Peter no longer made even a profession of interest in the work. "He hath been a very bad instrument, all along, towards it," wrote the president of the Corporation in England, in 1654—"who (though of a committee in the army for the advance of it amongst them) yet protested against contributing a penny towards it in his person," and "told Mr. Winslow, in plain terms, he heard the work was but a play and cheat, and that there was no such thing as gospel conversion amongst the Indians." (Records of the U. Colonies, 1654.)

Arriving in England when Castell's project of building up a christianizing colony in America was inviting the attention of good men in and out of parliament, it may have occurred to the agents of Massachusetts that the newly awakened interest for the conversion of the Indians might be made instrumental in promoting "the good of the country," attracting emigration, securing the favor of the Parliament, and improving the finances of the colony. In 1643—a few months before the appearance of Williams's Indian "Key"—was published the tract entitled "New England's First Fruits, in respect, First, of the conversion of some—conviction of divers—preparation of sundry—of the Indians," and soliciting "means to sustain some fit instruments for their instruction." The next year (Nov., 1644), the general court first manifested, by formal action, an interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives, by ordering the county courts "to take care that the Indians residing in the several shires shall be civilized," and providing that order might be taken "to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." But it was not till November, 1646, that the general court, "considering that one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians," adopted a plan of systematic missionary effort to that end. It was ordered that two ministers should be chosen annually, by the elders of the churches, "to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians, in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter."

There were two ministers who had not waited for the action of the court or election by the elders. John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew could already address the Indians in their own language.

Mr. Eliot came to New England in November, 1631. He was then about twenty-seven years of age; a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1623. After leaving the university, he had been engaged in teaching, and was for some time the assistant of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, in a school near Chelmsford, Essex. Mather informs us that "he was a most acute grammarian, and understood very well the languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in," with "a good insight into all the other liberal arts," and "a most eminent skill in theology." In November, 1632, he was ordained teacher of the Roxbury church, and he retained that office more than fifty-seven years, till his death, in 1690. In estimating the work which he accomplished, the discharge of his pastoral duties must not be overlooked. For nine years (1641-1650), and again, late in life, for fourteen years (1674-1688), he was without a colleague, sole minister of a large parish. "The weight of the work incumbent upon him in that one church was," as Gookin thought, "sufficient to take up the time and strength of one man." His zeal for the conversion of the heathen did not make him neglectful of his duties to his own church and people; and "he liked no preaching (says Mather) but what had been well *studied for*."

It is not possible to fix the time at which he began to learn the Indian language, and of his method of study we know only what he has told us in the brief postscript to "The Indian Grammar begun." He "found out a pregnant-witted young man who had been a servant in an English house"—we learn elsewhere,* that this was a Long Island Indian, taken prisoner in the Pequot war of 1637, and put

* Glorious Progresse, &c. p. 19.

to service with a Dorchester planter,—“who pretty well understood [our language, better than he could speak it, and well understood]* his own language, and had a clear pronunciation.” With his help, Eliot translated “the commandments, the Lord’s prayer, and many texts of scripture,” and “compiled both exhortations and prayers.”

Under what disadvantages his studies were prosecuted may be imagined. His teachers must themselves first be taught. That the Indian language was unwritten was not the chief hindrance to a learner. Its general structure, all its distinctive features, its laws of synthesis by which complex ideas could be compressed in single words, were unknown, or but imperfectly understood. It had no recognizable affinity to any language of the old world. To English-speaking scholars, the Algonkin plan of thought was a confused maze; to English ears, the vocabulary was a jargon of harsh sounds, combined in words “long enough,” Cotton Mather thought, “to tire the patience of any scholar in the world. One would think,” he adds, “they had been growing ever since Babel, unto the dimensions to which they are now extended.”

But “prayer and pains,” wrote Eliot, “through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing; *Nil tam difficile quod non* —.”† His progress in the acquisition of the language must have been tolerably rapid, and after the first difficulties were overcome and a good knowledge of the vocabulary was gained, his facility in translating from English to Indian was

* The words in brackets (one line of the original) are omitted from the elsewhere very accurate reprint of the Indian Grammar, in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d series, vol. ix.

† Postscript to the Indian Grammar.

really wonderful. The statement* that "he took great pains to learn their language and *in a few months* could speak of the things of God to their understanding," must be taken with large allowance: but in October, 1646, he had attained such proficiency that he ventured to preach to the Indians without an interpreter, at a meeting near Watertown Mill, a few miles from Cambridge. The place was afterwards named *Nonantum* (or *Noonatomen*), i. e., Rejoicing.† Here Waubun and his company "diligently attended to the blessed word then delivered," and "professed they understood all that which was taught them in their own tongue."

A few days after Eliot preached this first Indian sermon, in Waubun's wigwam, the general court made the order before mentioned, encouraging systematic effort for the instruction and conversion of the natives within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. At the same session a committee was appointed to purchase such parcels of land as they should deem meet "for the encouragement of the Indians to live in an orderly way amongst us;" the amount so expended "to be deducted out of the first gift that shall be brought over, as given for the good of the Indians."‡ The result of Eliot's experiment being yet doubtful, the general court perhaps deemed it the more prudent course to permit such as were hopeful of success to defray the cost of carrying on the work. The next spring, further encouragement was given by establishing courts of justice among the Indians and authorizing the sachems themselves to try small

* Winthrop, ii. 303. Gookin (Hist. Coll., 168) says, "it was *not long* after he sat upon the work of learning the language, that he adventured to make beginning to preach," &c.

† The Day-Breaking, p. 28. *Nonantum* means literally "I rejoice," or "am well-minded." The form *Noonatomen* (or *Nonantamun*) is plural, "We rejoice."

‡ Mass. Records, ii. 166.

causes, civil and criminal, and "all fines to be imposed upon any Indian, in any of the said courts, shall go and be bestowed towards the *building of some meeting houses*, or education of their poorer children in learning, or other publike use, by the advice of the said Mr. Eliot," &c. Moreover, the general court testified its approbation of Eliot's labors by voting him ten pounds, "as a gratuity from this court, in respect of his great paines and charge in instructing the Indians,"—and ordered that "the 20£ per annum given by the Lady Armin [of Lincolnshire] for that purpose may be called for and implied accordingly."*

But the colony was soon to be relieved of the necessity of sustaining—if merely by temporary advances from its treasury—the work in which Eliot was engaged. The reports of the promising beginnings of this work, when they had been published in England, drew general attention to it and encouraged its promoters to liberal contributions for its support. In July, 1649, the Corporation "for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England" was constituted by act of parliament, and the commissioners of the United Colonies were appointed to receive and disburse the moneys entrusted to the Corporation, "as might best conduce to the propagation of the gospel amongst the Indians," and "for maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the Natives."†

For the first four years of his engagement in the public instruction of the Indians (1647–51) it does not appear that Eliot received any allowance from the funds of this corpora-

* Mass. Records, ii. 188, 189.

† Hazard, i. 635.

tion. In addition to his salary as minister of Roxbury, (about sixty pounds a year,) he was paid twenty pounds a year by the colony, half of which, at least, and probably the whole, was drawn from special donations made by friends in England. The Commissioners of the United Colonies manifested little disposition, at first, to encourage his labors. They seem to have distrusted his ability as a translator. They rigidly scrutinized his expenditure not only of the small sums which from time to time they entrusted to his hands from the funds of the Corporation, but of the donations which he occasionally received direct from England. Their confidence in the success of his work was of slow growth; and when, in September, 1651, he applied to them for additional encouragement, they answered, that if his hope "that the Indians do really embrace the gospel" was well founded, the work was "worthy of due encouragement," but suggested that "the honour of Christ and of the Colonies" required that "all Christian prudence be used to judge aright" of the sincerity of Indian professions, "lest they should only follow Christ for loaves and outward advantage," and they "fear that some of those very Indians who have drunk in (through Mr. Eliot's continued labor) something of the knowledge of Christ, coming into these parts [the Commissioners were in session at New Haven] show little of the savor of it in their carriage," &c.* In 1653, at the instance of the Corporation in London, the Commissioners, not very graciously, consented to increase Mr. Eliot's allowance to £40 a year; and in 1656, again prompted by the Corporation, they added to it £10 more.

* Records U. Cols., ii. 203, 204.

At a later period, the Commissioners knew better how to appreciate both the man and the work. In 1672, recalling in a letter to the Corporation in England, the origin and early progress of Indian missions, they write as follows :*

“We cannot but take notice of God’s hand in stirring up sundry, whereof the Reverend Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Mayhew deceased, were the *first* and *chief*, to attend that work of mercy to the souls of those poor natives; and the same did continue constant in, for many years, when as yet they had received no incouragement from any in England or New England.”

The story of Eliot’s missionary labors has been so often told that it is become familiar to all readers. Historians and biographers have loved the theme, lingering with pleasure on this bright page of New England’s annals, to join in eulogy to the good apostle of the Indians†—“the morning star of missionary enterprise”—“whose simplicity of life and manners, and evangelical sweetness of temper, won for him all hearts, whether in the villages of the emigrants or ‘the smoaky cells’ of the natives.”‡

* Records U. Cols., ii. 354.

† The Rev. Thomas Thorowgood, in an address prefixed the Part Second of his “Jewes in America” (1660), commends the liberality of some gentlemen of Norfolk, who had contributed money to sustain Eliot’s mission-work, and reminding them of the reward promised to the giver of even a cup of cold water, adds: “Your liberality hath not been cast only among the *little ones*, and to one in the name of a *disciple*, and in remote relation to Christ, but to one of his *near* ones, one of his *dear* ones: to a *Prophet*, yea, more than an ordinary prophet; I may say to an *Apostle*. . . . Mr. Eliot may well be styled the *Indian Apostle*,” etc. It is to this, perhaps, that Increase Mather alludes, in his letter to Dr. Leusden (professor of Hebrew at Utrecht), in 1687, when he says that Eliot “has been (and not undeservedly) called ‘the Apostle of the American Indians’ (Apostolus nostrorum temporum inter Indos Nov-angliæ)” The next year, Leusden dedicated his Hebrew-English Psalter, “To the very Reverend and pious John Eliot, . . . the Venerable Apostle of the Indians in America.”

‡ Bancroft, ii. 94, 96,

Of one department only of his work—the one which suggested the subject of this paper—his translations into the Indian language, some brief notice may be taken here.

His first teacher, the Long-Island Indian before mentioned, left his service before 1648.* He was succeeded by Job Nesutan (i. e., ‘two tongued’), who became a “very good linguist in the English tongue,” and assisted in translating the Bible and some other works.† This Job was one of two young men of Waubun’s company who came in November, 1646, to Eliot’s house, “to offer themselves to the service of the English, that by dwelling in some of their families they might come to know Jesus Christ.”‡ Before October, 1650, Job had learned to read and write, and not long afterwards Eliot alludes to the “enlarged ability” of his helper, as “a great furtherance” of his work of translation.§

In 1653, the Commissioners of the United Colonies made provision for printing (at the charge of the Corporation in England) 500 or 1000 copies of a Catechism in the Indian language, prepared by Mr. Eliot; but in order “that the work may be carried on the more exactly and to better satisfaction,” they ordered that he should employ the assistance of Thomas Stanton, of Connecticut, whom the Commissioners considered to be “the most able interpreter we have in the country for that language.”|| This Catechism was printed before September, 1654.¶ No copy of it is known to be extant.

Mr. Eliot gave some offence to the Commissioners by neglecting to avail himself of the services of Thomas Stan-

* Glorious Progresse, 19.

† Gookin’s History of the Christian Indians (Archæol. Americana, ii. 444).

‡ Day-Breaking, &c., p. 24. § Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 7. || Records U. Colonies, ii. 105, 106. ¶ Ibid., 120.

ton. In their letter of September, 1654, they “wish that no inconvenience be found through the want” of Mr. Stanton’s assistance, and they “now advise that before he proceed in translating the Scriptures, or any part of them, he improve the best helps the country affords for the Indian language, that, if it may be, the southwest Indians (some of whom we are now informed desire help, both for reading and to be instructed in the things of God and Christ) may understand and have the benefit of what is printed.”*

Mr. Stanton, who was the official interpreter of the Commissioners, probably deserved the commendation they gave him as “the best interpreter of New England,” but he was more familiar with the dialects of Connecticut and Narragansett than with that of the Indians of eastern Massachusetts among whom Eliot was laboring. Judging his attainments by Pierson’s Catechism, which he “examined and approved,” he seems to have had very little knowledge of the grammatical structure of Indian languages, and it is doubtful whether he could accurately frame a sentence in any dialect, though he spoke several well enough for the discharge of his official duties. His knowledge of the vocabulary was perhaps larger than Eliot’s, but in speaking or writing “about the holy things of God, Mr. Eliot” — wrote Thomas Shepard, in 1648† — “excels any other of the English that, in the Indian language about common matters, excel him.”

Before the middle of August, 1655, Eliot’s translation of Genesis was printed, and that of the gospel of Matthew

* Records of U. Cols., ii. 123. † The Clear Sun-shine &c., p. 12.

was in press,* and before December, 1658, “a few Psalms in Metre” had been printed.†

Mr. Abraham Pierson, minister of Bradford in New Haven colony, began to study the language of the Indians of south-western Connecticut (the Quiripi or Quinnipiac dialect) as early as 1651. He composed a catechism (Some Helps for the Indians &c.) “to suit these southern parts,” a copy of which was sent to England, in 1657, to be printed, but it was lost at sea. It was re-written by Mr. Pierson, and, after having been “examined and approved by Thomas Stanton, and by some others of the most able interpreters amongst us,” it was printed by order of the Commissioners, at Cambridge, 1658–59.

From the first, it had been Eliot’s “great longing desire” to translate the whole Bible into the Indian language. “I look at it”—he wrote in 1649—“as a sacred and holy work, to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence.”‡ In June, 1653, in a letter to Thomas Thorowgood, he says: “I have this winter translated the whole book of the Psalmes. While I live, if God please to assist me, I resolve to follow the work of translating the Scriptures.”§ A little more than three years afterwards, Dec. 28, 1658, he could “bless the Lord, that the whole book of God is translated into their own language; it wanteth but revising, transcribing, and printing. Oh, that the Lord would so move, that by some means or other it may be printed!”||

The means were provided by the Corporation in London, and the printing of the New Testament was begun at Cam-

* Letter to Thorowgood, *Jewes in America*, pt. 2, p. 53.

† *A further Accompt &c.* (1659), Postscript. ‡ *Glorious Progresse, &c.*

§ *Jewes in America*, pt. 2, p. 53. || *A further Accompt, &c.*; Postscript.

bridge, in the autumn or early winter of 1659. It was "finished and set forth," September 5th, 1661, and by this time the impression of the Old Testament had advanced to the end of the Pentateuch. When the Commissioners met in September, 1663, the whole Bible had been printed, and an Indian version of the Psalms in metre was in press.* The edition of the New Testament was, probably, 1500 copies. Some of these were separately bound—and to a few copies a dedication to Charles II. was prefixed.† The rest of the edition was bound up with the Old Testament, with the Psalms in metre and a single leaf of rules of holy living (sometimes described as a catechism) at the end.‡ From a statement by the Commissioners in 1664, it appears that "the number of *Bibles* with Psalm Books printed was upwards of a thousand."§ Five hundred copies of a *Psalter* were printed;|| that is, probably, 500 extra copies of the Psalms were struck off from the forms used in printing the Old Testament, and these—with a special title-page perhaps—were separately bound.¶

Fortunate is the collector who now can boast the possession of a fair, well-margined copy, with the dedication, of

* Records of U. Cols., ii. 260, 263, 294-5; Gookin, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 176.

† See Thomas's Hist. of Printing, i. 471-474; Records U. Cols., ii. 256.

‡ These rules are given by way of answers to two questions: "1. How can I walk with God all the day long?" And "2. What should a Christian do, to keep perfectly holy the Sabbath day?" and, so far, the form is catechetical; but this leaf is not to be confounded with Eliot's *Catechism*, of which a second edition was printed in 1661 or 1662.

§ Records of U. Colonies, ii. 316. || Ibid.

¶ Mr. Thomas (History of Printing, i. 257) describes this Psalter as in "small octavo, 150 pages," but mentions it in another place (p. 481), as having occasionally been bound with Eliot's Indian Grammar, and the Grammar like the Bible was in (pot) *quarto*. The printer's bill is for "9 sheets"—precisely the number occupied by the Psalms in the Indian Bible (from sign Ttt3 to Aaa1, with blank verso): and his charge for printing, £1 per sheet, is not large enough to include *composition*.

MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD. The long-coveted and dear-bought* prize may well take the place of honor on his book-shelves and he may be forgiven a little pride in the display of his treasure to less-favored book-lovers. But how incomplete is his satisfaction compared with that which filled the heart of the Apostle to the Indians when that little quarto, fresh from the hands of the unskilful binder, lay before him in his humble study at Roxbury. To him the completed volume brought fullness of joy. "Prayer and pains" had borne their precious fruit. Under discouragements that might have cooled any zeal less ardent than his—against difficulties that to others seemed insuperable—in toil unceasing, in privations manifold, forgetful of self, with faith that never wavered, with constancy never shaken, with a love which fainted not—he had worked on; and now, at last, his "great longing desire" was satisfied.

But he did not rest here. Before the Old Testament was out of press he had begun to translate Baxter's *Call to the Unconcerned*. He completed it on the last day of December, 1663, and it was printed the following year. A second edition of his *Catechism* (1500 copies) was printed in 1661 or '62. An abridged translation of Bishop Bayly's *Practice of Piety* ("Manitowompae Pomantamoonk") followed in 1665. A second edition of this work was printed in 1685. *The Indian Grammar begun* was written in the winter of 1664, his sons assisting in the work, and was printed in 1666. "*The Indian Primer, or the Way of Training up our youth of India in the knowledge of God,*" printed in

* A London bookseller (Mr. B. Quaritch), in a recent catalogue, marks a copy (in fine binding) at £225, and mentions the sale of another, without the dedication, for £200.

1669, was probably a second edition, for the delivery of some "Indian Primers" to Mr. Eliot is mentioned in the Treasurer's account for 1667.

In 1670, he wrote to the Corporation in London :

"Seeing they [the Indians] must have Teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be Teachers : for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is (by the Grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labours to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analize and lay out into particulars, both the Works and Word of God ; and how to communicate knowledge to others, methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity."*

In pursuance of this plan he composed and, in 1671, printed, in the English language, a little volume of "Indian Dialogues, for their instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Countrymen to the Knowledge of God, and of Themselves," and this was followed in 1672, by "The Logick Primer ; some logical notions, to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason," &c. Both these books are now extremely rare. Of the former the only known copy in this country is in the library Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York. There is a copy of the Logick Primer in the Library of the British Museum (Grenville Collection), and another in the Bodleian.

Eliot's next great work was the thorough revision of the Indian Bible, for a new impression. In 1675, the number of Praying Indians in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, including the islands, was estimated at 3,600.† Nearly all the copies of the first edition of the Bible had been dispersed among the converts. In the Indian war of 1675—

* A Brief Narrative, &c. (London, 1671), p. 5.

† Davis, in note to Morton's Memorial, 407-415.

1678, the greater part of these books were carried away and burnt or destroyed.* When peace was restored, a new edition was much needed. Mr. Eliot, now seventy-six years old, pressed on the work with unabated energy and zeal. In the revision he was greatly assisted by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, but it is not true that "the second edition of the Indian Bible was," as Cotton Mather asserts, "*wholly* of Mr. Cotton's correction and amendment." Eliot's correspondence with Boyle proves that he was himself actively engaged in the work, though he acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Cotton, who, he writes, "has helped me much in the second edition."† The New Testament was printed in 1680 and 1681. The impression of the Old Testament, begun in 1682, was not completed till late in 1685. (Mr. Thomas, *Hist. of Printing*, i. 262, note, says, "till the beginning of 1686," but the dedication to Robert Boyle, which was prefixed to a few copies, is dated Oct 23, 1685). The work proceeded slowly for, as Eliot wrote to Boyle, in March, 1683: "We have but one man, viz., the Indian printer, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the

* "When the Indians were hurried away to an Island at half an hour's warning, soon sunset, in terror they left their goods, books, bibles; only some few carried their bibles, the rest were spoyled [?] & lost. So that when the warres were finished, and they returned to their places, they were greatly impoverished, but they especially bewailed the want of Bibles."—Eliot, in the *Roxbury Church Records* (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, i. 507). He told Dankers and Sluyter, the *Lieut. of Massachusetts* who visited him in 1680, "that in the late Indian war all the Bibles and Testaments were carried away, and burnt or destroyed"—*Journal*, in *Coll. L. I. Hist. Society*, i. 383.

† *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 187. In the *Roxbury Church Records*, Eliot wrote a more particular account of his method of revision: "I also intreated Mr. John Cotton to help in the work, he having obtained some ability so to doe. He read over the former Bibles, and whatever doubts he had, he writ them down in letters, and sent them to me, to try them and file them over among our Indians."—*Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 507.

press, with understanding.”* This Indian printer, James, had been an apprentice to Green when the first edition of the Bible was printed, and had learned to read and write. In Philip’s war he joined his countrymen against the English, but in 1676, taking advantage of the proclamation of amnesty, returned to the service of his old master. He undoubtedly rendered great assistance in the revision and amendment of the second edition of the Bible. His name appears (“J. Printer”) with B. Green’s, in the imprint of the *Massachusee Psalter*, Boston, 1709.

“My age makes me importunate”—Mr. Eliot wrote, in 1683: “I shall depart joyfully, may I but have the Bible among them, for it is the word of life.” “Our praying Indians,” he says in another letter to Boyle, “both in the islands and on the main, are, considered together, numerous; thousands of souls, and all of them beg, cry, intreat for *Bibles*, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want.” And again (Nov. 27, 1683): “The work goeth on, I praise God; the Sabbath is sanctified in many places, and they have still fragments of their old Bibles, which they make constant use of.”

These extracts suggest—and some may find in them a sufficient reply to—questions which are sometimes asked as to the merits of Eliot’s version, its intelligibility to the Indians, and its influence on their lives. One of his biographers was of opinion that “it failed to answer the pious purpose for which the translator labored in preparing it,” yet thought it “fairly presumable that, on the whole, his version was such as to give the Indians, in all important

*1 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 181.

respects, about as correct and competent a knowledge of the Scriptures, as translations are generally found to do.”* A writer in the *North American Review*, October, 1860, (p. 431,) refuses to concede to Eliot even this partial success, and thinks “it may well be questioned, whether his translation of the Bible was of any service” to the Indians; because “it is more than doubtful whether this version was within itself clearly intelligible; for in the absence of lexicons, and in the exceeding poverty of the native tongue, the words that he was compelled to employ must have been often unsuited to the material objects which they designated and still oftener inadequate to the spiritual ideas they were intended to convey. And were this otherwise, we can hardly imagine that the subjects of his ministry could have acquired the art of reading with sufficient facility to profit by his labors.”

To this it may be answered, generally, that the inferences and implications of the reviewer are drawn from mistaken premises. To take the last first, there is abundant evidence that many of the praying Indians *did* acquire the art of reading with facility books printed in their language, and this even before the first edition of Eliot’s version of the Bible was put into their hands. In September, 1660—only Genesis and a portion of the New Testament had then been printed—the Commissioners wrote to the Corporation in London: “We have been informed that about one hundred of Mr. Eliot’s Indians can read in the Bible, and many other about Plymouth, Martin’s Vineyard and other places.”† In the dedication of the New Testament to Charles II., they say: “There are divers of them that can and do reade some

* Francis, *Life of Eliot*, 237, 238. † Records U. Cols., ii. 242.

parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been translated into their own language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater work," &c. As early as 1651, Eliot wrote*: "It hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter, to learn to read and write, *wherein they do very much profit with a very little help*, especially some of them, for they are very ingenious;" and again (soon after his beginning at Natick): "I hope the Lord will raise up among themselves such as will (with my oversight and care to teach them) be able to teach the children and youth, for they can both read and write, and my scope is to traine up all I can to be able so to be."† His method of instruction was, to write, in each schoolmaster's book, his Catechism and translated portions of Scripture, and these served for reading and writing lessons for the scholars.‡ In this way and, a few years later, by the help of printed catechisms and primers, a great number of these scholars, young and old, were prepared, before 1663, to make profitable use of the Indian Bible. That this *was*, in fact, much used and diligently studied, the condition of many of the copies which have been preserved to our time, sufficiently attests. A writer in the "Historical Magazine," for February, 1861, calls attention to the evidence presented by a copy of the second edition, (now in the library of Bowdoin College) of "constant use in the hands of persons who resorted to it with great care and long continued frequency." One of the copies in our library, which contains the autograph of its Indian owner, bears similar testimony (as was mentioned by

* Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 6. † Letter of July 4, 1651, in "Mercurius Politicus," Sept. 25th. ‡ Strength out of Weaknesse, 7, 10.

Mr. Paine in the April report of the Council), and a copy that once belonged to an Indian convert on the Vineyard (and which is now in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society) not only shows, throughout, marks of frequent use, but, in some portions—particularly, the first half of Genesis, a considerable part of the books of Isaiah, and the Psalms—the paper is fairly worn out by much handling.

A still less questionable proof of the general use of this version among the Praying Indians is found in a statement by the Rev. Experience Mayhew, in a letter* from the Vineyard in 1722. The difference between the dialects of that Island and the main land of Massachusetts “was formerly,” he writes, “somewhat greater than now it is, before our Indians had the use of the Bible and other books translated by Mr. Eliot; but, *since that, the most of the little differences that were betwixt them have been happily lost*, and our Indians speak, but especially write, much as those of Natick do.” A book which could not be read understandingly, and with facility, would not have abolished, in a half century, dialectic distinctions, however slight.

A word, now, as to the *quality* of the version. No good reason can be given why it was not—or might not be—“within itself clearly intelligible”; *as* clearly intelligible, that is, as any translation from the Hebrew and Greek to a modern language can be. It is true that the vocabulary of every Indian language is, in one sense, limited; but, on the other hand, the resources of the language for enlarging its vocabulary as necessity may require, are exhaustless. “Lexicons” or dictionaries are superfluous. Whenever new words are wanted they can readily be framed, from known

* In the possession of our associate, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.

elements, in accordance with established laws of verbal synthesis; and every word so constructed is *self-defining*. It is true that there are English words which cannot be adequately translated into Indian; and so there are words in the original Hebrew and Greek which have not been satisfactorily rendered into Indian or English. Eliot did for such words just what had been done by the authors of the English version. He transferred them directly to the Indian text, with such change of affix or inflexion as Indian grammar required. The use of *salt* was unknown to the Algonkins and the word itself was untranslatable. Therefore, it will be found in its English form, as noun and verb, throughout Eliot's version*—just as “bdellium” and “leviathan” and “shushan-eduth,” and other names, the meaning of which was not clear to the translators, are still found in our English Bible. For the Old Testament especially—for all that relates to the history of peoples under patriarchal government, of nomadic life, separated in tribes, dwellers in tents; accustomed to receive truth by symbols and types, veiled by apologues or parables, or hid in riddles; people who worshipped in song and dance, and offered the first fruits of the earth and the choicest morsels of their meats, in thanksgiving or as a propitiation; who sought counsel of their prophets and priests, or in the assembly of the elders; who gathered by tribes to celebrate, in lodges constructed of green boughs, their solemn feasts; who looked for revelations of the will of the Great Spirit by signs and tokens, in dreams, and from soothsayers

* As in Mark ix. 50: “*salt* wunnegen, qut *salt* wannahteunk wussaltànù-oonk, uttoh wonk moh kussaltanehtauwunneau?” Salt is-good, but salt when-it-loses its-saltiness, wherewith again can you-make-it-salt?

—who heard his voice in the thunder, and felt his anger in flood or tempest, in drought or famine, or devouring fire—in short, for the whole Old Testament story—the language of the Indians offered a medium of translation certainly not inferior to the English or to any language of modern Europe. Moreover, considering the nicety of the Indian grammatical apparatus, the contrivances for imparting by slight changes of form an almost endless variety of meanings to verb or noun, discriminating with infallible accuracy the slightest differences of denotation—it may well be questioned whether, even for the expression of spiritual ideas, these languages can, by comparison with the greater number of those into which the Bible has been successfully translated, justly be regarded as deficient. But here there may be room for difference of opinion, and the question opens a field of discussion into which this is not the time or place to enter.

A second edition of the translation of the *Practice of Piety*, in 1685, has been mentioned before; and a second edition of *Baxter's Call* was printed in 1688. In 1689, a translation of Shepard's *Sincere Convert*, which had been nearly completed by Eliot in 1664, was revised by Grindal Rawson and printed in a volume of 164 pages.

Eliot rested from his labors May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six. The words in which, almost at the beginning of his mission-work, he was described by one who knew him well, might appropriately serve as his epitaph: "A man of a most sweet, loving, gracious, and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in and do good by."*

* *The Day-Breaking, &c.*, p. 29.

Of the works of translation of his successors, Grindal Rawson, Samuel Danforth, Experience Mayhew, and others, no special notice can be taken here. Their titles will be found in the annexed catalogue. In 1698, five sermons of Increase Mather, translated by Mr. Danforth, were printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, at Boston; and this is believed to have been the first book printed in the Indian language after the removal of the press from Cambridge. In 1707, Cotton Mather published, under the title of "Another Tongue brought in," &c., a little volume designed for the religious instruction of the Iroquois Indians of the province of New York. The catalogue of books in the dialect of eastern Massachusetts ends with the Indian Primer of 1720—for the few pages in Mather's "India Christiana" were introduced merely as "a taste of the language." It is not known to the compiler that anything was printed, in any dialect of New England, between 1721 and 1775.

Respectfully submitted,

For the Council,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

BOOKS AND TRACTS IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGE

OR

DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF THE INDIANS,

PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE AND BOSTON,

1653-1721.

The first considerable vocabulary of the Massachusetts language was "A small Nomenclator," comprising upwards of 300 words and short phrases, appended to William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, London, 1634.

"A KEY into the LANGUAGE OF AMERICA : or, An help to the *Language* of the *Natives* in that part of America, called NEW-ENGLAND. Together with briefe *Observations* of the Customes," etc., by ROGER WILLIAMS, was printed in London in 1643, in a small octavo; 14 sheets, 224 pages, including title-leaf (but with several errors of pagination). It was reprinted, for the first time, in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, first series, vols. iii. and v. Again, by the Rhode Island Historical Society in their first volume of Collections, Providence, 1827, 8vo. And, with an Introduction and notes by J. H. Trumbull, in the first volume of the Narragansett Club's Publications, Providence, 1866, sm. 4to.

Copies of the original edition are in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society, Mass. Historical Society, John Carter Brown (5), George Brinley (2), Charles Deane, S. M. L. Barlow, Henry C. Murphy, the Prince Library in Boston, &c.

PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1653-54. [A Catechism, by John Eliot.]

The Commissioners of the U. Colonies wrote, Sept. 24, 1653: "Mr. Eliot is preparing to print a Catechism in the Indian language," etc.; and they authorized the Commissioners for Massachusetts to order the printing of 500 or 1000 copies. Records of Comm'rs, ii. 105, 106. The next year, Sept. 25, they wrote, "One Catechism is already printed, and Mr. Peirson is preparing another," etc. Id. 120. Of this little book, which, so far as is known, appears to have been the first printed in New England in the Indian language, no copy has been found. A "new impression" was made in 1662, which will be noticed in its place.

1655. [The Book of GENESIS, and the Gospel of MATTHEW, translated by John Eliot.]

See the preceding Report, p. 31. Eliot wrote, Aug. 16, 1655: "Genesis is printed, and we are upon Matthew." (Thorowgood's *Jeices in America*, pt. ii., p. 53.) In December, 1658, he mentions "these pieces that were printed, viz., Genesis and Matthew," which he "had sent to such as he thought had best skill in the language and intreated their animadversions, but heard not of any faults they found." (*A further Accompt of the Progresse*, etc., pp. 2, 3.)

1658? [Psalms in Metre.]

In a postscript to the "Epitomy of such Exhortations as these Indians . . . did deliver," etc., sent by Eliot to the Corporation, Dec. 28, 1658, he wrote: "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own language, save Genesis and Matthew, and a few *Psalmes in Meeter*." (A further Accompt, etc.). The Treasurer's account presented Sept., 1659, includes a payment "To Mr. Green, in part for printing the Psalmes."

1658. *Some Helps for the INDIANS Shewing them How to improve their natural Reason, to know the True GOD, and the true Christian Religion.* 1. By leading them to see the Divine Authority of the *Scriptures*. 2. By the *Scriptures* the Divine Truths necessary to *Eternal Salvation*. Undertaken *At the Motion, and published by the Order of the COMMISSIONERS of the United Colonies.* by ABRAHAM PEIRSON. Examined, and approved by THOMAS STANTON, Interpreter-General to the United *Colonies* for the *Indian Language*, and by some others of the most able Interpreters amogst us. CAMBRIDG, Printed by *Samuel Green*, 1658.

The title is within a border of the acorn pattern (like that which encloses the titles of the Indian Bible), sm. 8vo. Title, verso blank; "To the Reader" (signed A. P.), p. 3 (A2, recto); the Indian title, with interlinear English translation, p. 4 (A2, verso); the Catechism, Indian and English, interlinear throughout, pp. 5-67 (A3, to recto of E2). In 1654, Mr. Pierson, of Branford, in New Haven Colony, was preparing a catechism, "to suit these south-west parts [of New England], where the language differs from theirs who live about the Massachusetts." He exhibited a specimen of his work to the Commissioners, in 1656, and was advised to perfect it and, with the assistance of Thomas Stanton, "to turn it into the Narragansett or Pequot language." A copy of the completed catechism was sent to England to be printed, in 1657, but the vessel was lost at sea. Mr. Pierson made another copy, from which the work was printed at Cambridge, between September, 1658, and the winter of 1659. The impression was not quite completed when the Commissioners met in September, 1659. Rec. U. Cols., ii. 120, 176,

188, 203, 204, 216. The first sheet was printed in time to be sent to England by the ship which carried Eliot's and Endicott's letters of Dec. 28, 1658, and was reprinted in London by the Corporation, at the end of the tract entitled, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel," &c. — the re-print making pp. 22-35 of the tract (sm. 4to), with separate title-page, on which the imprint "LONDON: Printed by *M. Simmons*, 1659." is substituted for Green's.

Only two copies of the original edition have been found: one is in the library of Mr. Lenox, the other in the British Museum; but in the latter, another title page has been inserted in place of the original. The two correspond (differences of type excepted) as far as to the name of the author. The British Museum copy has — "By ABRAHAM PEIRSON Pastor of the Church at *Brantford*. Examined and approved by that Experienced Gentleman (in the Indian Language) Captain JOHN SCOT. — CAMBRIDGE: Printed for *Samuel Green*, 1658."

From what is known of that mischievous adventurer, Captain John Scott (see Palfrey's History of N. England, ii. 564-569, note,) it is highly probable that this title page was substituted by himself, or at his motion, and, probably, after the restoration. The imprint, it will be noticed, is "*for* [not *by*] Samuel Green."

The advice of the Commissioners "to turn it into the Narragansett or Pequot language" was not followed. The catechism remains in the dialect of "the southwest parts," i. e., the Quiripi (or Quinipiac), spoken from New Haven westward, near Long Island Sound, and presents the only known specimen of that dialect.

1661. THE NEW TESTAMENT of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. Translated into the INDIAN LANGUAGE, and Ordered to be Printed by the *Commissioners of the United Colonies* in NEW-ENGLAND, At the Charge, and with the Consent of the CORPORATION IN ENGLAND *For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*. — CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCLXI.

WUSKU WUTTESTAMENTUM NUL-LORDUMEN JESUS CHRIST Nuppoquohwussnaeneumun. — [Lozenge-shaped ornament, composed of 32 small printer's-marks.] — Cambridge: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCLXI.

Titles, within acorn-pattern borders outside of single rules. The Indian title, literally translated, is: "New his-Testament our-Lord Jesus Christ our-deliverer." sm. 4to. The size of the *printed* page is 6½ by 4½ inches (including head lines). The paper was of the size known as "pot," and the type is by Thomas, (i. 255), called "full-faced bourgeois on brevier body." The accurate collation and description of Eliot's version of the New Testament, in its first and second editions, and of the Bible of 1663 and 1685, which were given by Mr. Lenox in *The Historical Magazine* (New York, 1858), vol. ii., pp. 307, 308, and Dr. O'Callaghan's full notes, in his *List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures printed in America* (pp. 1-18), leave little to

be desired. One sheet, at least, was printed before September 7, 1659, and sent to the Corporation in England, with the letter of the Commissioners of that date (see Rec. U. Cols., ii. 239). Six sheets were printed by Green before the arrival of Johnson in the summer of 1660 (Id. 245). The work was completed before the meeting of the Commissioners, Sept. 5, 1661. The "preface" or "epistle dedicatory" was framed and approved before their adjournment, but not, perhaps, on their day of meeting, Sept. 5th, as Gookin states (in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 176); and, Sept. 13th, the Commissioners directed Mr. Usher to "take care for the printing" of it "before the New Testament, with the title, according to copy sent." (Rec. U. C., ii. 264.) The English title and the Epistle, printed on a sheet of which the first leaf was left blank, were inserted between the first (blank) and second leaves of the first sheet as originally printed,—and the signature A3 is repeated. JL. GB. GL. JCB. Harv. Univ.

16—? Christiane Onoowae Sampoowaonk | The same in English. A Christian Covenanting Confession. 1 page, sm. 4to, in two columns, Indian and English. No date.

The upper half of the page contains nine articles of belief, with Scripture proofs. Below (separated by a single rule across the page) are, in five articles, a confession of faith in Christ, and a form of Covenant, prepared for the use of Indian converts: "Wee that dwell in this Towne called [*a blank space*] are gladly willing to bind ourselves to God, to Remember the Sabbath day," etc., and "give ourselves and our children to Jesus Christ, to walk with Him in Church Order, so long as we live."

The first Indian church was gathered in 1660, at Natick; but Mr. Eliot had proposed the admission of the Indian converts to church estate, eight or nine years before this. Some peculiarities of orthography in the Indian version of this "covenanting confession" seem to indicate that it was printed *before* the Bible. It is alluded to by Cotton Mather (Magnalia, iii. 3. p. 178): "Unto the general engagements of a covenant with God which it was his desire to bring the Indians into, he added a particular article, wherein they bind themselves *mehquontamunat Sabbath, pahketeaunat tohsokhe pomantamog*, i. e., to remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live."

The only known copy is in the Congregational Library, Boston.

1662. [A Catechism, by John Eliot. Second impression.]

This "new impression of a Catechism" is mentioned by the Commissioners in 1661, in their estimate of expenditure for the ensuing year. Mr. Usher was instructed "to take order for re-printing of 1000 copies" (Rec. U. Cols., ii. 260, 265). In his account, presented Sept., 1662, is an item for "printing 1500 Catechisms, £15.00.00" (ibid. 278). The cost of printing, at this period, was about £2.10 per sheet, for 1000 copies (exclusive of paper, which was supplied by the Corporation), and this would not be increased more than twenty per cent. (to £3) by the press-work on 500 additional copies. At £3 per sheet, the Catechism must have required five sheets (80 pages, sm. 8vo.), to bring the cost of the edition to £15. This agrees nearly with the charge of paper for printing the first

edition in 1654; when "for the two Catechisms," Eliot's and Peirson's, Green used 30 reams. Not more than $14\frac{1}{2}$ reams was required for Peirson's ($4\frac{1}{2}$ sheets per copy, edition of 1500), leaving at least $15\frac{1}{2}$ for Eliot's, or sufficient for a small 8vo. of 70 to 75 pages. See, after, *The Indian Primer*, 1669, 168-?

1663. MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD NANEESWE NUKKONE TESTAMENT KAH WONK WUSKU TESTAMENT. — Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST noh ascowesit JOHN ELIOT. — CAMBRIDGE: Printeuop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Marmaduke Johnson*. 1663.

[*Literally translated*: The-whole Holy his-Bible God, both Old Testament and also New Testament. This turned by the-servant-of Christ, who is-called John Eliot.] sm. 4to.

This title, and that of the New Testament, are enclosed by acorn-pattern borders and single rules. For the history and description of this first edition of the Indian Bible complete, see Thomas, *History of Printing*, i. 225, 469-478. For collations of the several varieties of impression and arrangement, see Mr. Lenox's paper in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. ii., pp. 306-308; O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, pp. 8-12; and a special collation of a copy formerly belonging to Mr. John Allan of New York (now in the library of Mr. Brinley of Hartford), in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 87, 88.

I. The regular edition for the use of the Indians, with *Indian titles, only*, (Old Testament, 1663; New Testament, 1661), Psalms in Metre, and so-called Catechism (one-leaf). The first title leaf has the verso blank; the next leaf has the recto blank, and on the verso the names and numbers of chapters of the books of the Old and New Testaments (*Booke Wesuongash*, etc.). The title-page of the N. T. has the lozenge-shaped ornament (or "star") of 32 printer's-marks, as in the separately bound copies of 1661.

II. Copies with the *Dedication* to Charles II., and an *English general title*:

The Holy Bible: containing the Old Testament and the New. — Translated into the Indian Language, and Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, At the Charge, and with the Consent of the Corporation in England For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. — Cambridge: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCLXIII.

This title is on the recto of the *second* leaf of a sheet, leaving a preliminary *blank* leaf. The Dedication (4 pp.) follows, having on its first page the signature A3, and ending on the verso of A4. In binding these copies, the *Indian title* leaf was cut off, before prefixing the English title and dedication sheet — between which and the beginning of Genesis remains the single leaf which has on one side the Names of the Books. In a copy in the Library of Brown University, Providence, the English title and dedication were prefixed, without removal of the Indian title. In some dedication copies, the title page of the New Testament is *without the lozenge* or "star," and Dr. O'Callaghan pointed out (*Am. Bibles*, p. 9) that, in a copy of this description, some errors of the press which are found in the separately bound copies of the New Testament, had been corrected, while the sheet (sign. L) was passing through the press.

"The number of Bibles with Psalms printed, were upwards of a thousand" (MSS. Rec. U. Cols.) For printing the Bible (not including the Psalms in Metre) Mr. Green used 368 reams of paper. With the usual allowance for waste sheets, this would work 161,820 sheets. The Bible contains 544 leaves, or 136 sheets; the New Testament 128 leaves, or 32 sheets. The Psalms (as printed in the Old Testament, and separately worked as the "Psalter", 9 sheets. Assuming that the edition of the New Testament was 1500, of which 500 were bound separately, we have the distribution of the paper nearly as follows:

500 New Testaments, of 32 sheets.	Sheets, 16,000
500 Psalters, 9 " "	4,500
1040 Bibles, 136 " "	141,440
	———— 161,940 sheets,

would be a single quire of the 368 reams charged. The first edition of the Bible was "upwards of a thousand," but, probably, not quite 1000. Twenty copies of the Bible and as many of the Psalms" were sent to England, by order of the Commissioners, Sept. 18, 1664 for presents. These were sent in sheets, and were bound in London by order of the Corporation, in 1664. They probably all contained the dedicatory epistle. AAS. GB.(3). JL.(2). HCM.(2).

1663. Wame Ketohomae Uketoehomaongash David.
[i. e. All the singing Songs of David.]

1663a version of the Psalms in Metre, bound with the Bible: 50 pages on 12 sheets, sigs. A to verso N2, two columns on a page. The title as above, stands at the head of the first page. The third part of the first sheet (N3) contains what has been called a Catechism, (see the preceding report, p. 33,) comprising brief directions for leading a Christian life.

1663. [The Psalter.]

The Commissioners, Sept. 10, 1664, write that 500 *Psalters* have been printed (Rec. U. Cols. ii. 316), and the same year there is an entry in the Treasurer's account for "printing 9 sheets of the Psalter, at 1000 a sheet." This charge is too small to include *completum*, and it is probable that these 500 copies of the Psalms were printed from the forms used in printing the Old Testament and were bound up separately. See the preceding Report, p. 33, note.

1664. Wamfoh anganoo asquam Peantogig *kah*
asquam Quinappigig, etc. CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Marmaduke Johnson*, 1664.]

Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, translated by Eliot. On the last page is "Printed 1663, December 31." It was "printed and dispersed" in an edition of 1000 copies, before Sept., 1664. See Eliot's letter to Gov. Records of Connecticut, iii. 484, and Rec. U. Cols., iii. 294. Printed by Johnson, see Rec. U. Cols., ii. 294, and Comm. Records, i. 6.

It was reprinted in 1668, and will be more particularly noticed under that year.

1665. *Manitowompae* POMANTAMOONK: Sampwshana
Christianoh Uttoh woh an POMANTOG Wussikkitteahonat
God. — 1 Tim. 4. 8. [Quotation, two lines.] — CAMBRIDGE:
Printed in the year 1665. sm. 8vo, pp. 397, 3 n. n.

Translated: Godly Living: Directs a-Christian how he may live to-please God. This is Eliot's (abridged) translation of *The Practice of Piety*, by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor. The translation was begun in the winter of 1664-5, at the suggestion of Robert Boyle and the Corporation in England (Col. Rec. Conn., iii. 484-5). A second edition, revised by Eliot, was printed in 1685. Of these two editions, Mr. Thomas (Hist. of Printing, i. 258, 262) has made four: "The Practice of Piety," in 1665, and again in 1667; "Manitowompae Pomantamoonk," in 1685; and "Practice of Piety," again, in 1687. He had not seen the original edition of 1665, for he describes it as of "about 160 pages," instead of about 400. As to an edition of 1667, he probably was misled by a charge in the treasurer's account in 1667, for *binding* 200 copies of the Practice of Piety (Rec. U. Cols., ii. 330), but these must have been part of the edition of 1665. AAS. GB.

1666. THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN: OR, *An Essay to bring the* Indian Language INTO RULES, For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them. — BY JOHN ELIOT. — Isa. 33. 19 [followed by Isa. 66. 18, Dan. 7. 14, Psal. 19. 3, and Mal. 3. 11; nine lines.] — CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Marmaduke Johnson*. 1666. sm. 4to, pp. (4,) 66.

Title, within a border of printer's ornaments; verso blank: Dedication "To the Right Honourable Robert Boyle Esq; Governour:" etc., 2 pp. (A2): "The Indian Grammar Begun," pp. 1-66 (A3-I3, verso), followed by a blank leaf.

Mr. Thomas (i. 257) assigns this volume to Green, and to "about 1664," but, he says, "no year is mentioned." Perhaps he took his date from a reference to the work in Eliot's letter to Boyle, Aug. 26, 1664: see Boyle's works (fol. 1744) vol. v., p. 548. See also, his letter to the Comm'rs, Aug. 25, 1664, in Col. Rec. Conn., iii. 484. Mr. Thomas cannot have seen the Grammar, for he describes it (i. 480) as occasionally bound with the Psalter, in *small octavo*.

The edition was, probably, 500. There is a charge in the Treasurer's account presented in 1667, for binding 450 Indian Grammars, at 3 sh. per hundred. Perhaps some of the remaining 50 copies were bound with the New Testament, others with the Psalter.

Reprinted, with introductory and supplementary observations by John Pickering, and notes by P. S. Duponceau, in 2 Mass. Hist. Collections, ix. 223-312 and (notes) i-liv. GB.

1669. [The Indian Primer, or the Way of Training up

our Youth of India in the Knowledge of God. Cambridge: 1669. 24mo.]

A copy of this edition of Eliot's Primer is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The title here given is from the library catalogue. It is not mentioned by Thomas, or in the Records of the Commissioners, but a charge in the Treasurer's account presented in Sept., 1667, for "Indian Bibles, *Primers*, &c., delivered to Mr. Eliot and Mr. John Cotton, and the Scholars" (MSS. Records), shows that there was an *earlier* edition than this of 1669. The first which Mr. Thomas notes is under date of 1687.

1671. INDIAN DIALOGUES, For their Instruction in that great service of CHRIST, in calling home their Countrymen to the *Knowledge of* God, and of themselves, and of JESUS CHRIST. Mat. i. 11. *For from the rising of the Sun* [etc., 6 lines.] Printed at CAMBRIDGE. 1671.

Wide 16mo, or *very* small 4to. Title within a printer's border; verso blank. Dedication to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, signed J. E. (2 pp. A2). Preface, signed J. E. (half a page). Introduction of the Dialogues (half a page). Dialogue I. begins on verso of A3 (p. 2), and Dialogue III. ends on recto of K4 (p. 21). Signatures in fours; pp. 61-66 are omitted in pagination. The three Dialogues are all *in English*. In the preface, Eliot says: "If the Lord give life and length of dayes, I may hereafter put forth these, or the like Dialogues in the Indian Tongue." This book was one of those which Eliot designed for the instruction of Indian teachers, in the art of teaching.

Only two copies have been traced; one in the Bodleian library, the other in the library of Mr. James Lenox, who has obligingly communicated the full title and collation.

Printed, *probably*, by Marmaduke Johnson. Not mentioned by Mr. Thomas.

1672. [The Logick Primer. Some Logical Notions to instruct the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason, especially for the Instruction of such as are ignorant among them. Composed by J. E. for the use of *Praying* Indians. Cambridge, 1672.]

Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, who was paid by order of the Commissioners, Sept., 1672, "for printing, stitching, and cutting of . . . and Indian Logick Primers, £6.00.00." For the design of the title and of the "Indian Dialogues," see the preceding

entry. In the library of the British Museum and the Bodleian. Printed in a 36mo; perhaps like the "Indian Dialogues," a *very* small 4to.

1680. WUSKU WUTTESTAMENTUM NUL-LORDUMUN IESUS CHRIST Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun. — CAMBRIDGE, *Printed for the Right Honourable CORPORATION in London, for the propogation of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England.* 1680.

Title within a border of printer's ornaments (part acorn-pattern) outside of single rules; verso blank. Text begins on A2, recto; ends on recto of Kk2, verso blank. The Psalms in metre (*Wame Ketohomae uketohomaongash* DAVID) begin on Kk3 and end on verso of Yy4, followed by the "catechism" in Indian, 2 pp.

Bound with the Bible of 1685; few copies, if any, having been made up separately. In November, 1681, the impression had advanced to the 19th chapter of the Acts, and Eliot wrote, that as soon as the New Testament was finished, they should go on "preparing and impressing the Old." (Letter to Boyle, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 180).

1685. MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD NANEESWE NUKKONE TESTAMENT KAH WONK WUSKU TESTAMENT. — Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST noh ascowesit JOHN ELIOT. Nahohôteu onchetôe Printeuomuk. — CAMBRIDGE. Printeuoop nashpe *Samuel Green.* MDCLXXXV. sm. 4to.

Second edition of Eliot's version of the Bible. The impression began in 1680, with the New Testament: the Old was not completed till the autumn of 1685. The edition was 2000. See the preceding Report, p. 24; Thomas's *History of Printing*, i. 262, 479; O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, 13-18; Mr. Lenox's collation in *The Historical Magazine*, ii. 308.

The title is the same as in the first edition, with the addition, after the name of the translator, of the words *Nahohôteu onchetôe Printeuomuk*, "second-time amended impression."

At the end of the Old Testament, on verso of Ppppp 1, are the words *Wuhkukquohsinnug Quoshodtumwaenuog* (i. e., 'The Prophets are ended'). The next leaf has the recto blank; on the verso, the names of the books (*Booke Wesaongash*, &c.) of the Old and New Testaments, and, at the foot of the page is the line: "James 1. 26. Asuhkaue wenan, ogketash, qut asookekodtam nehenwonche wut-tah." This is an *erratum*: "James 1. 26. After wenan, read, qut asookekodtam" &c. These words, omitted from the verse as printed in the New Testament, mean, "but deceiveth his own heart."

In two copies — one in the Prince Library, Boston, the other now in the library of Mr. George Brinley (formerly belonging to the Marquis of Hastings) — has been found a dedication "To the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq: Governour, And to the Company, for the Propagation of The Gospel" &c., dated, Boston, October 23, 1685, subscribed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hincley. This is printed on a single page, the recto of a leaf inserted between the title-leaf and beginning of the text.

AAS.(2). CHS.(2). YC.(2). JL.(2). GB.(3).

168-? [Indian Primer, by John Eliot. Cambridge. 16mo.]

On a copy of this primer (without a title page) in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, is written, in the hand of Rev. Thomas Prince: "Mr. B. Green says, composed by Mr. Eliot, & Print^d at Camb. ab^t 1684." It is, probably, the same edition which Mr. Thomas (i. 263) enters under the year 1687, with the remark that "it had gone through several previous editions at the expense of the corporation." One—not the first—edition has been noticed, s. a. 1669. This may be the same book which Mr. Thomas enters, the same year, as "Eliot's Catechism."

The Mass. Hist. Society's copy is a wide 16mo.. or, as it would now be called 32mo, measuring 3½ inches high by 2½ wide, nearly; the signatures in eights. The first sheet is complete, and its first page, though without title, date or imprint, may have been the first of the tract as originally printed: it has an acorn-pattern border, and between two short single rules is the verse, Prov. 22. 6 ("Train up a child in the way he should go," etc.) in Indian. On the 2d and 3d leaves are alphabets, roman and italic, and spelling lessons; on the 4th leaf (recto) "The Lord's Prayer" in English and Indian, which is expounded, in questions and answers, on the 4th, 5th, and recto of 6th leaves. Then follow—"The Ancient Creed," with exposition; "The Large Catechism" (pp. 1-59, page 1 being the *verso* of the 7th leaf, and the second sheet (sign. B) beginning with page 4); "A Short Catechism," pp. 60-62: and on the next four pages (not numbered), "The Numeral Letters and Figures," roman and arabic, from 1 to 150, ending with "Finis" on [p. 66] the recto of E8. Indian and English, throughout.

1685. MANITOWOMPÆ POMANTAMOONK [etc.]
CAMBRIDGE: Printed for the right Honorable Corperation
in London for the Gospelizing the Indins, in New-England,
1685. sm. 8vo, pp. 333. [349], 3 n.n.

The second edition of Eliot's version of *The Practice of Piety*. See, before, s. a. 1665. Four typographical errors on the title-page show that Eliot's eyes were becoming dim, or that his proof-reader was untrustworthy. Aug. 29, 1686, Eliot wrote to Boyle: "The Practice of Piety is finished, and beginneth to be bound up." (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., lib. 187.)

ca. Pr. Libr. (3). Harv. Univ.

1688. WENKOMAONGANOO ASQUAM PEANTOGIG *kah as-quam Quinnapp gig*, Tokonogque mahche woskeche Peantamwog. Onk woh sampwutteahæ Peantamwog. Wutan-akausnonk wunneeton noh nohtompeantog. — USSOWEST Mr. RICHARD BAXTER. Kan Yeuyen qushkinnumun en INDIANF Wuttimontowaongamit. Wussolsamawontamumat owesnonk God ut Christ Jesus ut, kah wonecheonat INDIANS w. — Euck. 33. 11 — Q. 51. 4, etc. — CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by *S. G.* for the Corporation in LONDON for the
INDIANS in NEW-ENGLAND. 1688. 8vo, pp. 188.

This is the second edition of Eliot's translation of Baxter's *Call*, first printed in 1664.

The title is within a narrow border: verso of title-leaf, blank. On page 3 (A2), under a head-ornament of the acorn pattern, four lines ("En wame asquam quanuppegeg," etc.) precede *Chap. I.*, which begins with a seven-line capital M. Signatures in eights, A-M. Ends on p. 188, with a prayer beginning "QUT, wol ken" etc. Below, between single rules, "*Finitur*, 1663, December 31."

AAS. GB. MHS. Harv. Univ. Pr. Libr.

1689. *Sampwutteahae* QUINNUPPEKOMPAUAENIN. Wahuwômook oggussemesuog Sampwutteahâe *Wunnamptamwaenuog*, Mache wussukhûmun ut English-Mâne Unnon-toowaonk nashpe Ne muttâe-wunnegenûe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST Noh assoowesit THOMAS SHEPARD Quinnuppenûmun en INDIANE Unnontowaonganit nashpe Ne Quttianatamwe wuttinneumoh CHRIST *Noh assoowesit* JOHN ELIOT. Kah nawhutche ut aiyeuongash oggusemese oncheteauun Nashpe GRINDAL RAWSON. — Matth. 24. 14. *Kah yeu* [etc., eight lines]. CAMBRIDGE. Printed by *Samuel Green*, in the Year, 1689. sm. 8vo, pp. (4), 161.

[*Translation* : The-Sincere Convert [*literally*, 'man who stands turned-about']. Making-known they-are-few sincerely who-believe. Having-been written in Englishman's language by that very-excellent Servant-of Christ who is-named THOMAS SHEPARD, is-turned into Indian language by that honoured Servant-of Christ who is-named JOHN ELIOT, and in some places a-little amended by GRINDAL RAWSON.]

Title enclosed by single rules, verso blank: 2d leaf (not paged) has, on recto, *Anakausuonganê Petutteakonk* (Introduction), and, on verso, Articles of Belief, in Indian. *Sampwutteahae Quinnuppekompauenin* etc. begins on A3 and ends on L3, pp. 1-161. The verso of L3 is blank, and a blank leaf makes up the half-sheet.

Eliot wrote the Commissioners in 1664, Aug. 25th: "I have Mr. Shepard's Synceare Convert & Sound Believer almost translated, though not fitted and finished for the Presse." (Col. Rec. Conn. iii. 484.) He laid it aside, to translate, at the suggestion of Boyle, *The Practice of Piety*, and it remained twenty-five years in manuscript. This was the last of Eliot's translations which was printed in his life-time.

AAS. GB.

1691. *Nashauanittue Meninnunk* WUTCH MUKKIESOG, Wussesemumun wutch Sogkodtunganash Naneeswe TESTAMENTSASH; WUTCH Ukkesitchippooonganoo Ukketeahogko-unoooh. Negonâe wussukhûmun ut Englishmânne Unnon-

tuowaonganit, nashpe ne ánné, wunnegenúe Nohtompeantog,
 Noh asowèsit John Cotton. Kah yeuyu qushkinnúmun en
Indiane Umontoowaonganit wutch onenehikquáout In
 DIANE MUKKIESOI, Nashpe GRINDAL RAWSON. Wunnaun-
 chemukáe Nohtompeantog ut kenugke INDIANOG. — *Onatuh*
mishketuog [etc. 2 lines]. 1 Pet. 2. 2. — CAMBRIDGE: Prin-
 teuop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Bartholomew Green*.
 1691. sm. 8vo.

[*Translation:* Spiritual Milk for Babes, drawn from the Breasts
 of both Testaments, for the Nourishment of their Souls. Formerly
 written in English language, by that most excellent Minister who is
 named John Cotton, and now turned into Indian language for the
 benefit of Indian Children, by Grindal Rawson, Minister of the Gos-
 pel among the Indians.]

14 pages (and 8 blank pages). Some copies were bound with
The Sturdy Convert. AAS. GB.

PRINTED IN BOSTON.

1693: Mawukkenukéeg MATCHESEAEVVOG WEQUETOOG kah
 wittowananatow Uppeyaonont CHRISTOH kah ne YEUYEU
 tawak Wook, nhehe nunnukquodt missinninnuh ukquoh-
 quonant wutúinkoinnutamooonganoo. Kah Keketookaonk
 papoome. Wosutemwae kesukodtum: kah papaume naw-
 hutch and atogeh Wunnonwayeuongash. — Nashpe INCREASE
 MATHER. Kul kootomwehteacenuh ut oomoeuwelkomonganit
 ut *Hebdomad*, ut *New England*. — *Eccles.* 12. 13. [and *Acts*
 13. 44, etc. lines.] — Yeush kukkookootomwehteangash
 quidimomomoch en *Indiane* umontoowaonganit nashpe
 ut *Hebdomad*, Printeuop nashpe *Bartholomew Green*,
 1693. *John Allen* 1698. sm. 8vo, pp. 164.

[*Translation:* Greatest Sinners called and encouraged to come
 to Christ, and that Now, quickly. Also, that it is very dangerous
 to neglect their repentance, And a Discourse concerning the
 present state of the Church in Boston These Discourses
 were first printed into Indian language by S. D.]

The sermon of Increase Mather's, translated by Samuel Dan-
 ford, is entitled: "The Epistle-Dedicatory" to the Author,
 printed in 1693. The last sermon ends on page 162. A
 certificate to the success of Experience Mather's sermon among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard.

The book is known to have been printed after the re-
 turn of the first edition to Boston. GB.

1699. A CONFESSION OF FAITH Owned & consented unto by the Elders & Messengers of the Churches Assembled at *Boston* in *New-England*, May 12. 1680. Being the Second Session of that SYNOD. — Eph. 4. 5 [and Col. 2. 5 ; 3 lines]. — BOSTON. Re-printed by *Bartholomew Green*, and *John Allen*. 1699.

Wunnamptainoe SAMPOOAONK Wussampoowontainun Nashpe moeuwehkomunganash ut *New-England*. Qushkenumun en *Indiane* Ummontowaonganit. — Nashpe *Grindal Rawson*, &c. MUSHAWOMUK. Printeun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, kah *John Allen*. 1699. 16mo.

8 prel. leaves, n. n. ; pp. 161, and 4 n. n. English title, on verso of first leaf, facing Indian title, on recto of second leaf ; both within borders of printer's marks. "The Epistle Dedicatory," to Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, is dated Nov. 4, 1699. The Confession, and Table of Chapters (at the end of the volume,) have the Indian and English on opposite pages. AAS. MHS. Pr. Libr. GB.

1700. Wussukwhonk En Christianeue asuh peantamwae INDIANOG, Wahteauwaheonaount Teanteaquassinash, Nish ENGLISHMANSOG Kodtantamwog *Indianog* Wahteaunate kah Usseenate, En michemohtae Wunniyeuonganit. — Wussukwhosik nashpe *Cotton Mather*, Englishmanne *Nohtompeantog*, nampoohamunate kodtantamoonk *Edward Bromfield* Englishmanne *Nanawunnuaenuh*, noh ukkodaninnumau yeu womoausue Magooonk en Indiansut. — MVSHAVWOMVK, Printeun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, kah *John Allen*, 1700.

AN EPISTLE to the Christian [or praying] INDIANS, Giving them A Short Account, of what the ENGLISH Desire them to KNOW and to DO, in order to their Happiness. — Written by [Cotton Mather] an English *Minister*, at the Desire of [Edward Bromfield] an English *Magistrate*, who sends unto them this Token of Love. — BOSTON, Printed by *Bartholomew Green*, and *John Allen*. — 1700.

One sheet 16mo ; the page numbers doubled. Indian title on verso of first leaf ; English, on recto of second leaf, the verso of which is page 1 of the Indian text, with page 1 of the English, opposite. Ends on (double) page 14. See, after, 1706.

NYHS. S. M. L. Barlow, New York. GB.

1705. The Hatchets, to hew down the Tree of Sin, which bears the Fruit of Death, or, The LAWS, by which the Magistrates are to punish Offenders, among the *Indians*, as well as among the *English*.

Togkunkash, tummethamunate Matcheseongane mehtug, ne meechumuoo Nuppooonk. ASUH, Wunnaumatuongash, nish nashpe Nanannacheeg kusunnt sasamatahamwog matcheseongash ut kenugke *Indiansog* netatuppe onk ut kenugke Englishmansog. (asuh Chohkquog.)

One sheet, sm. 8vo. On the first page, the double title, as above, and an introduction to the Laws, beginning: "The Laws are now to be declared, O Indians," etc. This introduction and each of the twenty laws are followed, in order, by the Indian translation. At the end, on p. 15, are two paragraphs of admonition, and on the lower half of the page, between single rules, is the colophon: BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*. 1705." AAS. GB.

1706. Wussukwhonk en Christianeue asuh peantamwae INDIANOG, [etc.] MUSHAUWOMUK, 'Printeuun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, 1706.

A second edition, or the first with change of title-page, of C. Mather's "Epistle to the Christian Indians." See, before, under 1700. MHS. GB.

1707. *Ne Kesukod Jehovah kessehtunkup*.—KEKUTTOOH-KAONK Papaune KUHQUUTTUMMOONK Ukkesukodum LORD. Mussohhomunnap Monuppeantamooonkanut ut *Boston*. 4 Kesukod 1. Nupauz, 1703.—Nashpe noh quhtiantamwe Kuhkootumwehteacnin assoowesit, COTTON MATHER.—Kah woh OOneunnehqunnaout *Indiansog*, Ukquishkunnumun en wuttunnonttoowaonkannoowout EXPERIENCE MAYHEW.—*Chrysostom*. [Quotation, six lines.]—*Boston, N. E.* Up-Printhamun *B. Green*. 1707.

The Day which the LORD hath made. A DISCOURSE concerning The INSTITUTION AND OBSERVATION OF THE *Lord's-Day*.—Delivered in a Lecture, at *Boston*, 4 d. 1 m. 1703.—*Chrysostom*. [Quotation, four lines.]—*Boston, N. E.* Reprinted by *B. Green*. 1707.

Sm. 8vo. Indian title on verso of first leaf, opposite English title on recto of second leaf. Text begins, Indian on verso of second leaf, and English opposite (A3, recto), each paged 1. Page numbers doubled. The Discourse ends on p. 36 (recto of K2). On

verso of K2 and recto of K3 is "*Nohwutche nekone Chapter JOHN.*" "Some part of the first Chapter of JOHN [Inserted in these Supernumerary Pages, for the more special Meditation of the Indian Readers.]" This ends on recto of K4: verso, blank.

The original Discourse was first printed, Boston, 1703. This translation, "to do good to the Indians," was made, as the Indian title shows, by *Experience Mayhew*. AAS. MHS. GB. GL.

1707. Another Tongue brought in, to Confess the Great Saviour of the World. Or, Some Communications of Christianity, put into a Tongue used among the Iroquois Indians in America. And Put into the Hands of the English and the Dutch Traders. To accommodate the Great Intention of Communicating the Christian Religion unto the Salvages among whom they may find anything of this Language to be Intelligible. Boston: Printed by *B. Green*. 1707. 16 mo, 16 pp.

This book is named in the list of Cotton Mather's publications, which is appended to his Life by Samuel Mather. It contains "sentences in relation to God, Jesus Christ, and the Trinity, in the Iroquois, Latin, English and Dutch languages." The only perfect copy known to the compiler is in the library of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., from whose (privately-printed) Catalogue the above title is taken. There is a copy, wanting the title page, in the library of the New York Historical Society.

Why this, the first book in the language of the Five Nations, was printed at Boston instead of New York—or by whom the translation was made—Mather does not inform us. It may, with much probability, be conjectured that the copy was furnished by the Rev. THOROWGOOD MOOR, who was sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1704, to labor for the conversion of the Mohawks. He remained nearly a year at Albany, and visited the Mohawks at their "Castle," but could not obtain their consent to his establishment of a mission among them. Before November, 1705, he returned to New York, and shortly afterwards went to Burlington, N. J., to supply the place of the Rev. John Talbot (another missionary of the Society). Here, Mr. Moor gave offence by refusing to admit the Lieutenant Governor (Ingoldsby) to the Lord's Supper, and was punished by imprisonment. Having contrived to escape, he fled to *Boston*, and in November, 1707, took passage for England, from Marblehead. The vessel, with all on board, was lost at sea (O'Callaghan's Note, in N. Y. Documents, iv. 1077). Mr. Talbot on his return from England had met Mr. Moor in Boston and tried to induce him to go back to New York, but "poor Thorowgood said he had rather be taken into France than into the Fort at New York."

While at Albany, Mr. Moor must have had opportunity to learn something of the Mohawk language, from Laurence Claessen, the provincial interpreter, who had been a prisoner among the Iroquois, "and understood their language sufficiently," and from the Rev. Bernardus Freeman, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Schenectady, who "had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont in the year 1700, to convert the Indians," and "had a good

knowledge of the dialect of the Mohawks" (Humphreys' Hist. Account, 299, 302). When the Rev. William Andrews began his mission work among the Five Nations in 1710, Mr. Claessen served as his interpreter; and Mr. Freeman (who meanwhile had removed to Brooklyn) gave the Society copies of the translations he had made of the English liturgy and select portions of Scripture—from which a Mohawk prayer-book was printed at New York (Id. 299, 302). This "very worthy Calvinist minister" (as Humphreys characterizes him) may have previously given Mr. Moor a copy of—or assisted him to translate—this little manual. Mather would be glad to promote its publication, and not disinclined to receive whatever credit he was entitled to for the work. And as Moor, while in Boston in 1707, was a fugitive from Lord Cornbury's jurisdiction, there was reason enough—the relation of Massachusetts to New York, considered,—for omitting to mention the author's name on the title page or in connection with the work.

1709. *Massachusee* PSALTER: Asuh, Uk-kuttoohomaongash DAVID weche WUNNAUNCHEMOOKAONK Ne ansukhogup JOHN, Ut *Indiane* kah *Englishe* Nepatuhquonkash. Ne woh sogkompagunukhettit Kakoketaliteakuppannegk, aketa-munnat, kah wohwohtamunat Wunnetuppantainwe Wussukwhongash. — John v. 39. [4 lines quoted]. — Boston, N. E. Upprinthonunneau *B. Green*, kah *J. Printer*, wutche quhtiantainwe CHAPANCKKEG wutche onchekehtonunnat wunnaunchumookaonk ut *New-England*. &c. 1709.

The *Massachuset* PSALTER: or, PSALMS of DAVID With the GOSPEL According to JOHN. In Columns of *Indian* and *English*. BEING An Introduction for Training up the Aboriginal Natives, in Reading and Understanding the HOLY SCRIPTURES. *Boston, N. E.* Printed by *B. Green*, and *J. Printer*, for the Honourable COMPANY for the Propagation of the Gospel in *New-England*, &c. 1709. 8vo.

The Indian title on verso of first leaf: the English, opposite. Each title enclosed by single rules. Signatures in fours, A-Eee. "The Book of Psalms" begins on A3; Indian and English on the same page, in columns divided by a rule; ends on verso of Pp. 4. "The Gospel according to John" begins on Qq 1, ends on Eee 3; and on verso of Eee 3 are six lines of *Errata*. The last leaf, blank. The type of the Indian version was changed at the 146th Psalm, from bourgeois to brevier, and the smaller type was used through the rest of the volume.

Next to Eliot's Bible, this is the most important monument of the Massachuset language. The translation was made by the Rev. Experience Mayhew. "The Indian language has been from his infancy

natural to him," says Prince, "and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest Masters of it that has been known among us" (Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, p. 307). His version has some of the peculiarities of the dialect of Martha's Vineyard, with which Mr. Mayhew was most familiar, but in literal accuracy and its observance of the requirements of Indian grammar it perhaps surpasses even Eliot's. The employment of *James* (the Indian) Printer on the work is an additional guaranty of the faithfulness of the version. See Thomas, i. 290-293. AAS. MHS. JL. GB.

1710. Oggussunash Kuttoonkash [etc.] "A few words addressed to the poor condemned murderers Josiah and Joseph, in their own language; at Bristol, October 12, 1709, on the day when their sentence was executed."

Appended to the Sermon preached on that occasion by Rev. Samuel Danforth, entitled, "The Woful Effects of Drunkenness." Boston, 1710. The address in the Indian language is on pages 43-52. GB.

[17—? Experience Mayhew, in a notice of an Indian convert who died at Martha's Vineyard, in 1717, says: "Mr. Perkins's *Six Principles of Religion*, having been translated into the Indian tongue, was what she took great delight in reading." (*Indian Converts*, p. 168.) No copy of this translation has been discovered, and it is not certain, from Mayhew's mention of it, that it was *printed*.]

1714. Family Religion Excited, and Assisted. By Doctor COTTON MATHER.

Teashshinninneongane Peantamooonk Wogkouunumun kah Anunumwontamun. Nashpe Doctor COTTON MATHER.

16 mo, pp. 20,20, the first and last blank. No separate title page. The English title is at the head of the verso of the first leaf, and the Indian is opposite, on recto of A2, page 1. The page numbers are doubled, 1-19. On pp. 18, 19, are the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and below (on p. 19) the colophon: "BOSTON: Printed by B. Green. 1714." and opposite, "Bostunut: Printeunap nashpe B. Green. 1714."

AAS. GB. NYUS.

1720.—Indiane PRIMER Asuh NEGONNEYEUK. Ne nashpe Mukkiesog Wohtauog wunnamuhkuttee ogketamunnate Indiane Unnontoowaonk. Kah Meninnunk wutch Mukkiesog. — *Mushawomuk*: Printeun nashpe B. Green. 1720.

The Indian PRIMER OR The FIRST Book. By which Children may know truely to read the Indian Language. And

Milk for Babes.—*Boston*: Printed by *B. Green*. 1720.
 12mo, pp. 84, (165).

The titles on opposite pages, each within a border of printer's ornaments. Signatures in sixes, the page numbers doubled, Indian and English opposite, throughout. On the recto of the first leaf is a wood (or type-metal) cut of the Massachusetts seal, and on the verso of the last leaf, a ship, with the name "ROYALL CHARLES."

On the verso of the 2d leaf (English title) are Scripture texts: on pp. 5, 6, 7, the alphabet, large and small, roman and italic; easy syllables, &c.; and these are continued on (sig. B) pp. 7-13, in words of two, three, and so on to *thirteen* syllables: The Lord's Prayer, (p. 13) expounded in question and answer (pp. 13-18); "The Christian Belief" &c. [Apostles' Creed], with "questions and answers concerning Christian Doctrine" (pp. 18-29); John Cotton's "Milk for Babes," with Grindal Rawson's translation (pp. 30-46); a baptismal Covenant (46, 47); &c., &c. Ends, with FINIS, on (double) page 84.

This is another—and probably the last—edition of Eliot's Indian Primer (see before, s. a. 1669, 1685), with the addition of Grindal Rawson's version of Cotton's "Milk for Babes" (see s. a. 1691). Copies are preserved in the libraries of Mr. Geo. Brinley, Mr. J. H. Trumbull, the Prince Library, and the British Museum (Grenville Collection). It was described, and in part reprinted, from an imperfect copy, by Dr. John Pickering, in the appendix to Cotton's Vocabulary, 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, ii. 244-249.

1717 [A Monitor for Communicants. By Cotton
 Mather]

Mather, in his discourse entitled *India Christina* (p. 32), mentions this among the books which had been added to the "Indian Library." The Indian translation must have been printed between 1714 and 1717. No copy has been found. The (English) title appears in the list of Mather's publications, under the year 1714.

1721 India Christina. A Discourse unto the Commis-
 sioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the
 American Indians. With Instruments relating to Propa-
 gating our Religion, in the Eastern as well as the Western,
 &c. By Cotton MATHER. Boston, 1721. 16 mo.

pp. 104, n. 94. In the appended *Notitia Indiarum*, second part, entitled "Summa Christianismus, or, the Sum of the Christianity, brought unto the Indians," Mather gives, in Indian and English on opposite pages (the Eng. doubled), "this ensuing instrument, that the curious may have a taste of the language,"—"WAME
 WAMEN WAMEN WAMEN pasukquinnineout ut yeunnag peantam-
 neout. The Righteous, which All Good Men are united in."
 Mather's knowledge of the language to which he appended the title, for example, literally trans-
 lated: "All they are good men to-unite-themselves in
 the right."—Harv. Univ. Pr. Libr.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE librarian begs leave to report that the condition of affairs under his immediate charge has, since the last meeting, been not less favorable than usual to the general interests of the Society and the growth of its collections. The accessions do not vary materially from the customary increase in number or quality. The fact that our accumulations press with additional severity upon our means of accommodation, though it may be mentioned as an inconvenience, certainly furnishes no ground for complaint, and only, claims a prominent and conspicuous place in the schedule of our wants.

Not only the value but the variety of matters received and procured has been well maintained. Among the authors whose personal productions have come to the library, eleven are members of the society; including the President, the Treasurer, Messrs. J. H. Trumbull, Isaac Smucker, Charles Hudson, Pliny E. Chase, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Deane, James F. Hunnewell, Charles Whittlesey, and William C. Endicott. The contributions from Hon. Charles Hudson and Judge Endicott are not publications, and are therefore special in their nature and classification. From the first we have in manuscript a memoir upon the character and services of George Nixon Briggs, sometime Governor of this

Commonwealth ; to be preserved with the manuscript memoirs of Governors John Davis and Levi Lincoln, before prepared by him. From the last we have the report and briefs of counsel in the case of the City of Lynn against the Inhabitants of Nahant, argued by him on behalf of the defendants, before the Supreme Court, in the County of Essex, in November, 1872. The case involves some very interesting questions relating to the tenure of lands held by towns under the general laws of the Colony at its earliest period. The questions raised by the defendants were new, and opposed to the commonly received opinion that towns hold the fee of the land within their limits by reason of their incorporation or existence as towns.

Since this document came into our possession the court has announced its decision, sustaining the views of the counsel for the defense, who now sits as judge on the same distinguished bench.

Judge Endicott has also given to the library a very fine copy of the original portrait of his ancestor, John Endicott, the first governor of the Massachusetts Colony, as Winthrop was the first governor of the Company and Colony combined ; which will be an object of notice to-day, and of comparison with the rude picture of the same already on our walls.

Among the general gifts to the library is a manuscript contribution from Mr. Thomas E. Sawin, of Wendell, Mass. It is the work almost of a lifetime in collecting and compiling materials for a history of that town. The author, on account of advanced age and consequent infirmity, deposits with us the fruits of much pains-taking labor, for use at some future period when circumstances may be favorable to their publication.

The record of accessions herewith exhibited will show that History and Genealogy are well represented in the list of donations. We have received a manuscript *communication* having relation to subjects discussed by Col. John D. Washburn, in his report to the Society, in behalf of the Council, in April, 1872. It is entitled "a Memorandum as to the discovery of the bay of San Francisco, by John T. Doyle," and it is hoped that Col. Washburn will explain its purport and purpose as fully as, from its nature and the circumstances, is certainly desirable. Mr. Doyle has, at the same time, kindly presented a curious document called a "Brief History of the 'Pious Fund' of California," of which only fifty copies were printed for him.

The Great West (so called), especially its region towards the Pacific ocean, continues to be the prolific source of archæological discoveries belonging to extreme antiquity. A letter received from Mr. Alexander S. Taylor, of Santa Barbara, California, seems to make it necessary to qualify a statement made on other authority in the last librarian's report respecting the scarcity of pottery and stone implements in that State, or to restrict its application to a more limited district. He assures us that the California side of the Colorado River Valley contains a good deal of broken pottery, and that the shell mounds, of which there are thousands between Panama and Alaska, all have in them stone implements of various kinds. Mr. Taylor says, moreover, that the stone tubes, about whose use there has been much speculation, are employed by the natives for blowing tobacco smoke upon the sick. The question naturally occurs why they should be at the pains to make these instruments of stone when a reed would serve the purpose as well?

When the results of the government explorations, under Prof. Hayden, shall have been collated and officially published—if we may judge from the partial reports that have appeared occasionally—the amount of archæological and palæontological information obtained will be of a most astonishing character. In the department of natural history portions of Colorado are said to have yielded to Prof. Cope, of Dr. Hayden's party, very extraordinary and hardly credible discoveries. We are, at least, compelled to believe that too much attention cannot be bestowed upon those interesting regions as sources of new and important light upon the condition of the world in the far distant periods of its existence.

In reference to the rapid disappearance of the races that have been known to us as aboriginal inhabitants, Rev. Mr. Waterston dwelt at our last meeting on the importance of preserving photographs of persons, and places of interest, connected with these decaying peoples. The present time appeared to him to afford some favorable opportunities growing out of missionary arrangements, and he offered his personal aid and services towards the accomplishment of the object. Mr. Waterston and your librarian were appointed a committee, with power to take such action in behalf of the Society, as they should think best.

The committee as yet have had no conference on the subject, and therefore no joint proceedings have been undertaken; but the Librarian is able to say that circumstances, particularly accidental, are promising, in a very satisfactory degree, to the objects of their appointment. A public spirited gentleman, connected with Worcester, Mr. S. R. Heywood, having just returned from a tour of observation at the far West, himself sug-

gested the expediency of collecting the portraits of prominent Indians, from negatives which he knew to be in possession of photographers there. He has recently started, in person, expecting to go as far as Pike's Peak, and has been desired to follow out his own suggestions in gathering all that come within his reach. When these are received, and their nature and extent are ascertained, the committee will be prepared for further action under the lead of the proposer of the movement.

In the meantime, some of our liberal members in Worcester contributed the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, to procure the magnificent photographs recently taken of prehistoric remains in the British Museum, illustrating the Palæolithic, Neolithic, and other unrecorded periods, of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. These have already arrived at the library, and cannot fail to elicit the admiration of every observer for their perfect representation of the most delicate features of each particular object. In some respects, as subjects of study, they afford superior advantages to the original articles, from the combined and associated manner in which they are brought before the eye; especially when aided by a few real specimens of the same character. They furnish facilities for such a comparison of forms and uses among the stone implements of different countries, as our associate, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., once intended to institute, but was deterred by the want of samples; and such as was partially attempted in the last librarian's report.

It may be anticipated that this department of photographic illustration will become of great importance and interest. We find among our recent gifts the photograph of a

stone pipe with a human head carved upon it, from a mound on the Black Warrior river in Carthage, in the State of Alabama, sent to us by Mr. W. S. Wyman, of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa. Mr. Wyman has been investigating the history of the inscribed piece of rock commonly called "the Alabama Stone," now in our cabinet, and may be able to furnish facts possibly connecting it with the expedition of De Soto. He says in his letter:

"I shall be able, in a short time, I trust, to furnish the Antiquarian Society with a full account of the discovery of this stone. There are yet living in this vicinity aged persons who remember the circumstances of the finding, locality, &c. I have accounts of the matter taken at second hand; but I prefer to get the story from the old persons now living, who saw the stone soon after its discovery.

When I learn all that is to be learned in the matter, I shall write an account of the facts and forward it to you, to be deposited in the archives of the Antiquarian Society."

"It is the purpose of Mr. N. T. Lupton, President of this University, and myself, to make an excavation of the largest of these mounds sometime during the coming summer. If we discover anything worth mention, I will send you an account of our work, with specimens of the relics, &c.

We have also a photograph of a Uchee chief, bearing the name of "The Sun at noon day" from Dr. R. W. Woodworth, of Worcester. And we have a photograph of a large pipe, the only specimen existing at Machias.

Mr. Woodworth is a well-known collector of its locality, and has been successful in obtaining a large amount of his collection of the most valuable specimens of the kind. We have also a photograph of a large pipe, the only specimen existing at Machias. We have also a photograph of a large pipe, the only specimen existing at Machias. We have also a photograph of a large pipe, the only specimen existing at Machias.

the learning and ability of the Society by asking for an interpretation of its meaning.

Another gift, belonging to the same class of illustrations, is a copy of Darley's sketches of scenes in Indian life, for which we are indebted to Mrs. Penelope Canfield, of Worcester.

Seventeen stone implements have been presented by Mr. Samuel H. Putnam, of this city, and one by Mr. Horace Davis, of California.

Thus it will be seen that, in this division, the collections of the last six months have been considerable in number and value.

Our accessions are classed under the heads of *Gifts*, *Exchanges*, *Purchases*, and books (chiefly newspapers) that have been made up for the binder from unbound materials. Our exchanges are virtually purchases, inasmuch as a price is set upon our duplicates and they are used to buy with as really as if they were bank bills. The totality comprises seven hundred and fifteen Books, two thousand three hundred and forty-six Pamphlets, one hundred and thirty volumes of Newspapers, fifty-four Lithographs, one hundred and sixty-six Photographs, seven Maps, eighteen Indian Implements, and three Autographs. These are chiefly gifts. The proceeds of exchanges and purchases are one hundred and twenty-three Books, three hundred and seventy-three Pamphlets, nineteen volumes of Newspapers, one hundred and fifty-seven Photographs. One hundred and sixty-one volumes of Books have been bound.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester. — His essay on the Star Spangled Banner and National Songs, with additional Notes and Songs; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. 1, 1642-1658; one book; thirty-six pamphlets; and five files of newspapers.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford, Ct. — His "Notes on Forty Algonkin Versions of the Lord's Prayer"; and his "Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut, 1639-1818."

ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O. — His article on "The Lewis's, the Hero-Statesmen Brothers"; his paper on the "Great Awakening" at the West, in the Summer of 1799; Pioneer Historical Papers, numbers 104 and 105; two pamphlets; and various historical articles in newspapers.

Prof. PLINY EARLE CHASE, Philadelphia, Pa. — His Cosmical and Molecular Harmonies, illustrating the equal Action and Reaction of Elastic Forces.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., Charlestown. — A reprint of Spelman's Relation of Virginia, with an Introduction by Mr. Hunnewell.

HON. CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington. — His Manuscript Biography of Hon. George Nixon Briggs.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge. — His "Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter," "General Washington's Head-Quarters in Cambridge"; and a reprint of the first edition of Smith's "New England's Trials," with Prefatory Note by Mr. Deane.

Col. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, Cleveland, O. — His "Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio"; his paper on "Archæological Frauds"; and six historical pamphlets.

HON. WM. C. ENDICOTT, Salem. — The briefs, etc., in the case of the City of Lynn against the Inhabitants of Nahant, argued before the Supreme Judicial Court, Jan. 11, 1873, Mr. Endicott counsel for the defendants; and a fine copy of an original portrait of Gov. Endicott.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston. — His address as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, with the report of the General Agent for the year 1872-3; and the report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund, London, for the year 1872.

- Mr. THOMAS E. SAWIN, Wendell.** — Materials which he has collected for a History of the Town of Wendell, Mass.
- EDWIN M. SNOW, M. D., Providence, R. I.** — His report upon the Births, Marriages and Deaths in the City of Providence, for the year 1871.
- Mrs. CAROLINE H. DALL, Boston.** — Her "Genealogical Notes and Errata."
- GEORGE E. CHAMBERS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.** — His report as Registrar of the Board of Health of the City of Philadelphia, during the year 1872.
- Hon. CLINTON L. MERRIAM, New York.** — His Speech in the House of Representatives, March 1, 1873.
- Rev. DANIEL LEACH, Providence, R. I.** — His Report as Superintendent of Public Schools, for the year 1873.
- Mr. WILLIAM H. DALL, Washington, D. C.** — His paper on "Some peculiarities of the Eskimo Dialect."
- Major ALBERT H. HOYT, Boston.** — His Sketch of the life of Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D.; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. LUCIUS E. CHITTENDEN, New York.** — His address upon the Capture of Ticonderoga, delivered before the Vermont Historical Society Oct. 8, 1872.
- Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Boston.** — His essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts, settled prior to A. D. 1775, with an essay on the Name of the Town of Lexington.
- Rev. GEORGE A. LATIMER, Wilmington, Del.** — His Sketch of the life of Oliver Evans, a remarkable mechanic and inventor.
- Mr. EDWARD E. ATWATER, New Haven, Conn.** — His Genealogical Register of the descendants, in the male line, of David Atwater, one of the original planters of New Haven, Conn.
- Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Shrewsbury.** — His Caldwell Records, Proof Sheet No. 2.
- Mr. F. W. PUTNAM, Salem.** — His Account of Mounds at Merom and Hutsonville on the Wabash; his description of a few Stone Knives, found in Essex County, Massachusetts; and his description of ancient Indian carving, found in Ipswich, Mass.
- Rev. JOHN A. VINTON, Winchester.** — His Symmes Memorial.
- CHAUNCY K. WILLIAMS, Esq., Rutland, Vt.** — An account of the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Rutland, Vermont, compiled by Mr. Williams.
- Mr. R. E. C. STEARNS, San Francisco, Cal.** — His article on Aboriginal Shell Money.
- Mr. HENRY PROBASCO, Cincinnati, O.** — The Catalogue of his Collection of Books, Manuscripts and Works of Art, with an Introductory Note by Mr. Probasco.

Mr. LUTHER P. HUBBARD, New York. — His Descendants of George Hubbard, from 1600 to 1872; and an account of the annual meeting of the New England Society in the City of New York, Dec. 23, 1872.

SAMUEL A. FOOT, LL.D., Geneva, N. Y. — His Autobiography, Collateral Reminiscences, Arguments in Important Causes, Speeches, Addresses, Lectures, and other Writings, in 2 vols.

Prof. JOSEPH LOVERING, Cambridge. — His "Notice of Herschel," and Communications on "Sympathetic Vibration, as exhibited in ordinary machinery," on the "Determination of Transatlantic Longitude, by means of the Telegraphic Cables," and on "French Calendars."

JOHN T. DOYLE, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — His Brief History of the "Pious Fund" of California; and Memorandum concerning the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco.

WILLIAM LAWTON, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y. — Eleven books; two hundred and seven pamphlets; five maps; four lithographs; and illustrated newspapers in numbers.

Messrs. GROUT & PUTNAM, Worcester. — Fifty-two books; three pamphlets; and one wood cut.

• **EDWARD W. LINCOLN**, Esq., Worcester. — Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, 12 vols.; and Benton's Debates of Congress, 9 vols.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Leicester. — Thirty Pamphlets; "The Liberal Christian" for 1872; and various newspapers, handbills, and circulars.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester. — Eleven books; one hundred and twenty-four pamphlets; one map; one lithograph; and newspapers in numbers.

Hon. DANIEL WALDO LINCOLN, Worcester. — Fourteen books; fifty-three pamphlets; parcels of the "Christian Register," 1853-72; and numbers of the "National Ægis" for the year 1816.

Mr. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Paxton. — A specimen of ancient wall paper, taken from the Meade House, near Barrack Hill, Rutland, Mass.

SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., Boston. — A fine photograph of Michael Angelo's statue of Moses, richly framed.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester. — Twenty books; and a lithograph of the Old Worcester House

Mr. SAMUEL H. RIDDEL, Tamworth, N. H. — A collection of manuscript Sermons, by Rev. Samuel Austin, D.D.; and one pamphlet.

Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, Fitchburg. — "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk"; and forty-eight numbers of the Eclectic Magazine.

Hon. FRANCIS H. DEWEY, Worcester. — Four books; two hundred and sixty nine pamphlets; two maps; and various newspapers.

Rev. WM. HENRY BROOKS, Hanover. — Two pamphlets.

- Mrs. P. S. L. CANFIELD**, Worcester. — Darley's Scenes in Indian Life, 5 numbers.
- Mr. ELBRIDGE H. GOSS**, Melrose. — Three pamphlets.
- GEORGE HANNAH**, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y. — The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus to Fort Sumter and Charleston, S. C., in 1865; and The Battle of Brooklyn, a farce in two acts.
- Rev. CALEB DAVIS BRADLEE**, Boston. — Seven pamphlets.
- JOEL MUNSELL**, Esq., Albany, N. Y. — Ten pamphlets.
- CHARLES B. WHITING**, Esq., Worcester. — Four pamphlets.
- WILLIAM CROSS**, Esq., Worcester. — Twenty pamphlets; and a large collection of financial broadsides and circulars.
- ROBERT CLARKE**, Esq., Cincinnati, O. — The Sixth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland; Anti-Slavery Opinions before 1800; and one pamphlet.
- ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR**, Esq., Santa Barbara, Cal. — Proceedings of the California Academy of Science, vols. 2 and 8; and two valuable pamphlets.
- GEORGE CHANDLER**, M.D., Worcester. — Eight pamphlets; and two maps.
- ISAAC F. WOOD**, Esq., New York. — A collection of early circulars.
- HORACE DAVIS**, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — Ten pamphlets; sixteen numbers of the Overland Monthly; and a California arrow head.
- Mrs. J. H. GEROULD**, Worcester. — Thirteen pamphlets.
- Mr. J. F. D. GARFIELD**, Fitchburg. — Ten pamphlets; and two broadsides.
- THOMAS H. GAGE**, M.D., Worcester. — Three pamphlets.
- SAMUEL A. GREEN**, M.D., Boston. — One book; and thirty-three pamphlets.
- Hon. JOHN MILTON EARLE**, Worcester. — One book; and twenty-three pamphlets.
- Mr. J. G. SMITH**, Worcester. — Ninety-two pamphlets; and thirty-eight engravings.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.**, Esq., Worcester. — Thirty-two pamphlets.
- J. WINGATE THORNTON**, Esq., Boston. — A fac-simile of the Indian Deed of Bridgewater; and five pamphlets.
- Mr. MELVIN LORD**, Boston. — The Massachusetts Registers of 1815 and 1816; an Autograph of Prof. J. W. Webster; and six lottery tickets of ancient date.

NATHANIEL PAINÉ, Esq., Worcester. — Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion, in thirty-five numbers; two books; seventy-six pamphlets; eleven engravings; one photograph; one manuscript sermon; one early broadside; the Christian Union in continuation; reprints of the first number of the Massachusetts Spy; a parcel of the Graphic; and newspapers in numbers.

Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester. — Six bound volumes of library catalogues.

Miss ADA J. PUTNAM, Worcester. — Forty-two miscellaneous books; and twenty pamphlets.

Mr. GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, Pomfret, Ct. — Six books; thirty-two pamphlets; and two maps.

Rev. GEORGE ALLEN, Worcester. — Five books; twenty-two pamphlets; the Palladium for 1872; and various newspapers.

Mr. CALKB B. METCALF, Worcester. — Eight books; fifty pamphlets; and parcels of the Christian Union and N. Y. Independent.

JAMES H. SALISBURY, M.D., Cleveland, O. — Two volumes with maps, relating to the Geological Survey of Ohio; and the Sixth Annual Report of the Ohio Commissioners of Railroads and Telegraphs.

Mrs. LARR JONES, New York City. — A German Psalter, printed in 1504; and an early Psalm book.

Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S. — Eleven volumes U. S. Public Documents; and two pamphlets.

Mr. GEORGE O. BRIGHAM, Westborough. — Two books of early date.

Mr. SAMUEL H. PUTNAM, Worcester. — Seventeen Indian stone implements from Groveport, O.; and one specimen of Stalactite.

Mrs. JOHN CLAPP, Leicester. — The Massachusetts Magazine for 1789.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, Worcester. — The Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts.

Prof. EDWARD NORTH, Clinton, N. Y. — History of the Perry H. Smith Library Hall.

E. F. DUNN, Esq., Bangor, Me. — Reports of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, and Maine Missionary Society.

Mr. W. M. CHURCH, Westborough. — One book; and two pamphlets of early date.

The ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. — Forty-three pamphlets; one engraving; and one photograph.

Mr. CHARLES W. HANFORD, Worcester. — Fac-similes of Lord Byron's handwriting.

Hon. THOMAS H. WYNNE, Richmond, Va. — One pamphlet.

George S. HARRIS, Esq., Greenfield. — An account of the Memorial Meeting in Sunderland.

- Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester.** — Thirty-four pamphlets; two Proclamations; and various newspapers.
- Mr. A. N. FAIRBANKS, Worcester.** — The Catalogue of Worcester Academy, 1872-3; and the "New Academy," numbers 1 and 2.
- Mr. GEORGE J. VARNEY, Brunswick, Me.** — A photograph of an Indian inscription at Machiasport, Me.
- Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, Boston.** — Proceedings at the laying of the corner-stone of the Standish Monument, on Captain's Hill, Duxbury.
- WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester.** — Reports of the Auditor and Treasurer of Worcester for 1872.
- RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D., Worcester.** — His manuscript record of Exemptions; a volume of early maps; an ancient book; and a photograph of a Ute Chief.
- HENRY GRIFFIN, Esq., Worcester.** — A history of the Press of Maine.
- Prof. J. C. DALTON, M.D., New York City.** — A memorial of E. B. Dalton, M. D.
- Mr. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester.** — Cotton Mather's "India Christiana."
- Mr. W. S. WYMAN, Tuscaloosa, Ala.** — Two photographs of a stone pipe, found at a group of mounds on the Black Warrior river, near Carthage, Hale County, Alabama.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster.** — The first number of the Leominster Enterprise.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester.** — Worcester City Document, 1873.
- Brig. Gen. A. A. HUMPHREY, U. S. A.** — Reports on the Construction of the Potomac Aqueduct of the Alexandria Canal.
- H. F. PHINNEY, Esq., Cooperstown, N. Y.** — Two photographs; and one engraving.
- Mr. JONATHAN GROUT, Worcester.** — A sample book of French paper and envelopes.
- Gen. FRANCIS A. WALKER, Washington, D. C.** — A Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.
- Mrs. SARAH ELLIS, Uxbridge.** — Two bound volumes.
- Mrs. CAROLINE P. MERRIAM, Worcester.** — Poole's Annotations upon the Holy Bible, 2 volumes; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. E. B. STODDARD, Worcester.** — Photographs of Hon. Harvey Jewell, and of the Chinese Embassy.
- Messrs. CHARLES H. DOE & Co., Worcester.** — One broadside.

- Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS**, Washington, D. C. — Thirty-one volumes relating to the Treaty of Washington; and the Astronomical and Meteorological Observations made during the year 1870, at the United States Naval Observatory.
- Mrs. CALVIN WILLARD**, Worcester. — One hundred and one books; and one hundred and seventy-seven pamphlets.
- Mr. J. S. WESBY**, Worcester. — Four Worcester Directories for 1873.
- Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co.**, Philadelphia, Pa. — Their Monthly Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. HURD & HOUGHTON**, New York. — Their Riverside Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co.**, Paris, Fr. — Their Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. COOK, SON AND JENKINS**, New York. — Their "Excursionist," as issued.
- Mr. GUSTAVE BOSSANGE**, Paris, Fr. — His Monthly Catalogue.
- THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION**. — Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. XVIII.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE**. — Their Memoirs, vol. 33.
- THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY**. — Their Collections, vol. 3; and a Memorial of Edward Jenkins Harden, late President of the Society.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY**. — Their Proceedings, 1871-1873.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY**, London. — Their Catalogue to December, 1870; Journal, vol. XII; and Proceedings, vol. XVI, Nos. 3-5, and vol. XVII, No. 1.
- THE ESSEX INSTITUTE**. — Their Bulletin, vol. 3, Nos. 10-12, vol. 5, Nos. 1-5.
- THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS**. — Their Transactions, vol. 3, No. 1.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY**. — Their Proceedings, No. 90.
- THE RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY**. — Their Proceedings for 1872-3.
- THE CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES** — Their Proceedings, vol. 5, part 1.
- THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY**. — Their Register, as issued.
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE**. — The Canadian Journal, as issued.
- THE MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES**. — Their Constitution and By-Laws, with the Address of the President, List of Officers and Committees, for 1873.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON**. — Their Proceedings, vol. 5, second series, Nos. 4-6.

THE IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — The Annals of Iowa for April and July, 1873.

THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA. — Their Proceedings for January and February, 1873.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. — Their Memoirs, vol. 9, New Series, Part 2, and Proceedings, pp. 95.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris, France. — Their Journal from November, 1872, to January, 1873.

THE SALEM MARINE SOCIETY. — A history of the Society from 1766 to 1872

THE PEABODY INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE. — The Sixth Annual Report of the Provost.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Its History, By-Laws, and Doings at the Festival of 1873.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION. — The Missionary Magazine as issued.

THE MINING JOURNAL COMPANY, Marquette, Mich. — Three historical pamphlets relating to the Lake Superior Iron District.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS. — Their Bulletin, vol. 4, No. 2.

THE COBDEN CLUB, London, Eng. — The Mission of Richard Cobden.

THE CONGREGATIONAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY. — Memoir of Nathaniel Eimmons, with Sketches of his Friends and Pupils.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY. — Their Medical Communications, vol. 11, No. 7.

MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY. — Twenty-four pamphlets on the History of the School and its Pupils.

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY. — The Traveler's Record as issued.

THE NORTH CHURCH AND SOCIETY, Salem, Mass. — The First "Centenary of the North Church, Salem, 1772-1872."

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION. — Twenty-two files of newspapers.

THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION. — Their twentieth annual Report.

THE COOPER UNION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART. — The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Trustees.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — Their Annual Report of 1873, sixty-nine numbers of periodicals; and twenty-two files of newspapers.

THE LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. — The Official Register for 1872-3.

THE GRAND LODGE OF F. AND A. M. OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their Proceedings of June and September, 1873.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — The Report of 1873.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The First Annual Report.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. — Their Fifty-second Annual Report.

THE CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Sixth Annual Report.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — List of Books added from January to July, 1873.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Twenty-first Annual Report; and the Bulletin as issued.

THE HINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The First Annual Report.

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE. — Their Catalogue; and the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Annual Reports.

THE WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Thirteenth Annual Report; three hundred and twenty-five book catalogues; and fifty files of newspapers.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. — Eight volumes of N. Y. State Documents.

• **THE VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.** — Seven bound volumes and two pamphlets, mostly State documents.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester. — The Boston Directory for 1872.

THE U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. — The Commissioners' Report for the year 1872; and Circulars of Information, Nos. 1-3.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. — Papers relating to the Treaty of Washington, vol. 5.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their Fourth Annual Report.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Journals of the New Hampshire Senate and House, June Session, 1873; and New Hampshire Laws, 1872 and 1873.

THE CITY OF BOSTON. — The City Documents for 1872, in three bound volumes.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their Weekly paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. — Their papers as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY. — Their paper as issued.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report for the six months ending October 20, 1873.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was \$30,503.69	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	1,137.14
“ from subscription, for purchase of photographs,	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$31,790.83
Paid for salaries and incidental ex- penses,	1,124.77
“ for photographs,	88.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,212.77
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	\$80,578.06
 <i>The Collection and Research Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was \$14,701.76	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	566.20
	<hr/>
	\$15,267.96
Paid for books and incidentals, and part of Librarian's salary,	205.85
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	\$15,062.11
 <i>The Bookbinding Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was \$10,121.01	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	359.17
	<hr/>
	\$10,480.18
Paid for binding, and part of Asst. Librarian's salary,	540.14
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	\$9,940.04
 <i>The Publishing Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was \$9,995.60	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	382.36
	<hr/>
	\$10,377.96
Paid for printing, expenses incurred for pub- lishing, &c.,	398.52
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	\$9,979.44

<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was . . .	\$10,917.93	
Received for interest since,	315.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of this Fund,		\$11,232.93
 <i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was	 \$697.65	
Received for interest since,	18.63	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of this Fund,		\$716.28
 <i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was	 \$1,182.20	
Received for interest since,	30.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of this Fund,		\$1,212.20
		<hr/>
Total of the seven Funds,		\$78,721.06
		<hr/>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement,		\$1,421.06
		<hr/>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,400.00	
Railroad Stock,	5,400.00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,200.00	
City Bonds,	1,500.00	
Cash,	78.06	
	<hr/>	\$30,578.06

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,400.00	
Railroad Stock,	800.00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00	
United States Bond,	100.00	
Cash,	462.11	
	<hr/>	\$15,062.11

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,900.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00	
Cash,	40.04	
	<hr/>	\$9,940.04

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	79.44	
		<u>\$9,979.44</u>

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Railroad Stock,	\$600.00	
Railroad Bonds,	1,700.00	
City Bonds,	8,500.00	
Cash,	432.98	
		<u>\$11,232.98</u>

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	116.28	
		<u>\$716.28</u>

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Cash,	212.20	
		<u>\$1,212.20</u>
Total of the seven Funds,		<u><u>\$78,721.06</u></u>

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 20, 1873.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the investments, and find them as stated; and they are safely and judiciously made.

ISAAC DAVIS,
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, November 14, 1873.

[illegible]

From Map at p 18 Libro II. Arcano del Mare. c.21.1647.



EARLY MAPS IN MUNICH.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

[The following Memoranda were made in Munich, June 22, 1873, — after an agreeable morning in the Royal Library. They are not of great importance, — and probably not of interest even to geographers, excepting so far as the references to the MS. maps of Robert Dudley may prove to be so. But I present them all to the Society, because they may at least save some trouble to other explorers. E. E. H.]

THE earliest map which they showed me bears their number, 133. It is easily read, on a roller, — not in very good preservation. No name, no date.

At Brazil (South America) is this inscription, — without the name “Brazil,” — “Istæ terræ quæ inventa sunt positum est nomen Sanctæ Crucis inventa est, et in ea est maxima copia ligni breselii etiam inventa cassia grossa ut brachium hominis. Aves Papagagi magni ut falcones et sunt rubri homines, vero ubi nullam legem tenentes se invicem comedunt.”

[The badness of the Latin is not to be charged to the copyist.

E. E. H.]

At the West Indies. “Omnes istæ insulæ ac terræ inventæ fuerunt ab uno Genuensi Nomine Columbo, et in ista insula — sunt animalia alienæ naturæ — serpentes item. Inveniunt aurum in multis locis omnes istæ insulæ nominantur Antillia.”

Next to Africa. “Omnes damnati ad mortem de gratia speciali obtinent a Rege Portugaliæ quod toto tempore vitæ suæ possint in hac insula habitare mona. Nihil invenitur nisi radices herba et * * * custodiam dictus. Rex ibidem castrum construxit.”

The Paradisus Terrestris is in Africa on this map.

North of the Azores and west of Scotland appears a long island, marked Terradauens. The principal headlands are Capo St. Paolo, Capo Sto. Spirito.

134. Poorly done on paper. 12 maps of Asia, six of Europe.

135 is old vellum in color and gold,—“monasterium Benedictorum in Metten me possidet.”

“MSS. mixt. 19 a.” is marked inside, but the outside as above. “135 Icon. Geog.” This is the Munich number.

No. 1. The America has Cuba, Jamaica, Isabella, San Juan Porto Rico,—but *not* Florida.

The Spanish main is marked, “Tota terra inventa per Christof. Colombo Januensis de Re de Spanier.”

Brazil (South America) is marked “Tota terra vocata Santæ Crucis de Re de portugale.”

On No. III. is the West of Europe. Just west of Valencia, about the width of Ireland from it—or rather more—is a round island, with a crooked strait dividing it, marked in red, “Ja de bresile.”

Nearly half way to Terceira from this is “Isola de Mayda.”

West of the north part of Scotland, northwest of *Brazile* is Fixlada, half as large as Ireland.

On No. 1 the name Brazil does not appear, at the South American Brazil. There are six vellum charts in all; taking in the whole world. No scale nor latitudes.

136. Exquisite vellum. Its No. 4 begins at the north with "Terra de S. Cob: io Steven Comes," meaning Sebastian Cabot. It has Cape Cod as "C. de St. Maria, baia de S. Antonio." It has Bermuda, but wholly leaves out *Brazil*, in S. America. Mexico is down as TIMITISAN. The Spanish main is quite accurately drawn to "P. Baya" and "azceises." Then it breaks off, and begins near Straits of Magellan, at southern end, with bay of Anegada [written *bay*], then "tera baya." All South America is marked PERV.

But this seems to have been merely a wish to draw *Spanish* America,—for No. 5 has, on the same scale, Terra de Brazil and the whole coast. On both 4 and 5 Cape Cod is C. de S. Maria, and both have "terra enc de Scob: io Steven Comes," or perhaps "Scobito Steven Comes."

Island of Brazil as in 135.

No. 137. A beautifully illustrated atlas. Spanish, on vellum. Date 1580. Not large.

I. Gives Sts. of Magelhaens from 34 South on the East Coast round to the same on the West Coast.

II. Is the rest of South America.

III. Is the Gulf of Mexico, North to Cape Breton:—which is spelled CABO BRETÃO. It is drawn square.

IV. Is Lavrador.

The other maps are Europe and Asia, and careful astronomical tables follow.

[I made a rough tracing of the United States Coast from Cape Breton to Florida. It is nearly equally divided by the Ro de Montanhos,—which corresponds with the *b. fernosa* [formosa] of the so-called S. Cabot map of 1544, and by a cape without a name,—which is the Trafal or Trafalgar of the early maps, and which Mr. Kohl supposes to be Hatteras.]

The only names I thought of any possible value are these, beginning at Cape Breton.

[In CABO BRETÃO.]

C. de Bretano,	Costalha.
I. de S. S. Joao.	ell Carnaveral.
farillones.	Ro. de Montanhos.
Ro. grande.	Toll fas. (And, on the sea here,)
R. della vuelta.	balsos costa de medianos.
C. aquenisiado.	

[South and west of "Ro. de Moutanhos."]

C. della Madsagente.	R. de buenamadie.
C. de Sa. Maria.	C. de Santaa.
arcapellago.	bala de Sa cristoval.
C. dello-sausifer.	Ro. de Santiago.
Ro. de halleros.	C. de largaienas.
C. de S. J. Batiste.	o. de sai joan.

[At this point is the rough cape (Trafalgar, as above) without any name here.]

C. de Sact. Spirito.	de testo.
C. dell príncipe.	Ro. de Canoas.
Rio dell príncipe.	C. de S. Romao.
Po baxo.	R. Jordan.
Costa de Mattas.	C. de St. Helena.

With this familiar name begins their Florida and Gulf of Mexico. The coast of the United States is hopelessly wrong. Nothing can be identified, excepting Cape Breton, Florida, and possibly Hatteras. Yet it must be noticed that the date is 1580.

138 is four heavy volumes folio, of charts—roughly drawn, but evidently for use—on coarse, strong drawing paper.

[An inquiry made to the courteous librarian, Dr. Halm, revealed the interesting fact that these were the original maps drawn by Robert Dudley, (son of the Earl of Leicester), who took in Italy the title of Duke of Northumberland. At the end of this paper, I give a few notes regarding him.]

Vol. I. is Asia and Europe, and I did not look at it.

Vol. II. is Africa and America. Africa takes the 39 first charts, and I did not look at it. At 40, America begins with

a map which has this endorsement: Questa mezzo carte e cancellata perche e meglio fatta di nuove. It is quite recent, probably about 1620. Has some Dutch names and some English. I think the whole is drawn from Hendrick Hudson's charts. No. 40 runs from *E.* long. 316 to *E.* long. 366, and 38 N. to 47 N., the scale being as these marks show—

38 316 317 318

The Islands along the coast east of Long Island are Bloxx, at [long E. 317] Sloty, Nassau, Texel and Vlielant, the last two as one, which are Martha's Vineyard—C. Malabar is so named. C. Cod is la Punta. The Mass. Bay names are "C. d' Grave, Henri Pto. di Vos. Gelos C. del porto, Costa de Staten, Staten Bay," this at Plymouth, and, more inland from Plymouth, "Amouchi eisi."

Maine is “Norumbega, La Nuova Francia, Prov. di Quinbeguy.”

"Nuova Anglia" is down twice.

[This corresponds with No. 2 of the Arcano, but the longitudes are a little wider, and many names have been added.] The engraved map may be thus described :—

No. 2 in the Arcano, begins a little West of 315 and runs to E. longitude 826. It begins at 37 N., but there is none of the coast until you come to 38 N. The coast line runs to 45 north, but the engraving with the title America. Nova Anglor goes above 47 North. The longitudes are a little narrower than the manuscript, the latitudes are just the same. The Islands along the coast East of Long Island are Id. Adrain Blocks. Island d. Nassau, Texel, and Vliealance, which are both on one island. I: Cabeliano and South of Texel. I: di Hendrick. Cape Malabare is so named. Cape Cod is Cape Cod, the Massachusetts bay names are Cape Anna, Henry's Bay, Boston. Pto. Vos. et Massachusette Accomak, Graue Bay, New Plimouth, C: di Plimouth: Golfo, B. Kooek, Fulc Bay. [These changes indicate a later revision of the MS.]

Map 41 is Nova Scotia and New Foundland,—quite accurate, and of the same scale with the other. The banks are dotted. It includes the southern part of Labrador, and there is the date 1587. But the map as above is later.

On the back of this is a small draft of New York Bay, of which I have a sufficiently accurate tracing. *Note* Hell-Gate, Sandy Bay, Narnticony, Pte de Eyer, and that *no* Dutch settlement is down. Also, *Note*, C. Henlopen. Long. 315° E. is 63° W. (about ten short.)

This drawing is probably the earliest drawing existing of New York harbor, made in such detail.

The lines of coast and islands are substantially the same as those in the Dutch map, of which there is a fac-simile in O'Callaghan's *New Netherlands*. The scale is twice as large, and many more names appear.

Beginning at the North the names are Mahicani, Maquani. This I suppose to be "The *first* of the Molicans."

P. di Rachterkol, (*? Hoboken.*)

*R. Man-nitto, (*the North River.*)

*I. da Hellegatte. ()

*Hellegatte, (*Hell-gate.*)

*B. di Keer (*on L. I. Sound-Northern side.*)

Rachterkohl.

B. di Rachterkol (*the bay at Bergen.*)

C. Codins (*at the West end of L. Island.*)

*Sande-Bay or B. d' Arena (*Sandy Hook Bay.*)

*Sand-poynt, (*Sandy Hook.*)

*Rondebergh hook, (*Sandy Hook.*)

Narnticony, (*S.-west of Sandy Hook Bay.*)

R: di Sandy: Bay, (*The Inlet South of Sandy Hook Bay.*)

Pt. de Eyer.

C. Henlopen.

C. Henlopen is but one degree South of the Point of Sandy Hook, while the Northern point of New York island is nearly three quarters of a degree north of it.

[I have noted with a star the names on the map in O'Callaghan's *New Netherlands*.]

The next map is the mouth of Hudson's Bay; large and in great detail.

“Bocca del gran Golfo de H. Hudson Inglese. Scoperto nel 1613, il 2d° viaggio.” It notes var. 28, 9 maustr. (australe.); goes up to 62 N. from 52 N. on the scale of two inches for one degree of latitude.

The next takes this up with Davis's Straits and just a point of Greenland.

It has variations 19, 20 marked on it.

The next gives the whole of Hudson's Bay on the same large scale.

Map 45 goes north to lat. 63, and at the north-west notes, “mare operto et dove si sperava de pasagio alla Cina et all India.” The upper corner is lat. 63, long. 297 E.

The next is the *Western* coast of America, same scales, drawn up to 53° N. and then dotted lines to N. E.

“La costa dell America Settentrionale incognita.”

This begins at long. 229 E.

The next is G. of Mexico with Florida.

The next is East Florida to C. S. Romain.

Questa costa della florida fu scoperto da Francesi nel 1564.

The next, smaller scale, from Amazon up to Labrador has “La Virginia habitata d' Inglese al presente.”

The next gives West of *Roanoac*. “Virginia l'Inghilterra gia abondanata.”

The spelling *Roanoac* and the draught show that Dudley had seen *DeBry*.

But in New England he has “La Verginia habitata d' Inglese.” And at Cape Cod, very badly drawn “C. della habitatione Inglese.”

The next has Norumbega and C. Raso.

The next (46) from Florida to New England.

“La Verginia Vecchia. Windandecosia”—for N. Carolina.

“La Verginia Nuova, posseduta d’ Inglese,” at Chesipioc, and “La Nuova Inghilterra possiduta d’ Inglese.”

47 is Cuba. What follows, still on the same large scale, are South America, and the ocean even where there is no land. I mean that there are whole sheets covered with latitudes and longitudes only.

Then the maps take up the west coast,—and give California bending far to the west. But in frequent notes in Italian, the author prides himself on not going so far as the geographers.

C. di St. Trinita is at 208 East, at $25^{\circ} 30'$ N.

B. di St. Trinita at same longitude at 26° N. This map then sweeps to the west, giving C. di Hondio at the extreme north west, in long. 255 E., lat. 30 North, and the next on a very large scale.

It gives the Island of Jeddo coming east of 215° E. long., the Straits of Jeddo (Le Strette di Jeso) just five degrees of longitude wide—say 225 miles in that latitude, and then begins America. “Il Regno di Quivira,” of which the coast line runs southeast 230° East. In English *pencil* is written here, undoubtedly by Dudley himself, “The lande of Jesso ought to 217 degr. 45 lat.”

Map 83 unites the two last.

At 45° N. 218 E. there is this allusion to the cold observed by Drake:

“Quivira fu scoperto dal Drago Inglese nel 1582 fu tanto freddo nel mese d’ Guignio che nō poteva comportar lo poi andava a gr. $38\frac{1}{2}$ et laure fu tempestabile et la nominava Nova Albion ma il fredo insopportabile dure. Sin a

43 Giadi.” [Drop the period at *dure* and this is intelligible.] Under this is “Terra Freddo* che era detto Porto.”

On 84, which is a line of the American Pacific Coast, is this note: “Li Spanioli nel ritonare delle Filippini alla nuova Spagna seguitano questa costa per beneficio delli venti marestrali in la favoni, et comuna m^{re} nō t oceano in altrui luoghi si no al Capo Mendocino.”

The next says:

“Non marivghiale” [do not marvel] “che questa mia carte fa la distantia di longitudine fra il capo di Mendocino et il capo Callifornia molto pio corto delli Carte volgari che sono falsissimi in questa distante per centinaria di leaghi.”

This map gives R. di Todos Sanctos at 42½ N. Lat.; Cape Mendocino at 40; B. of N. Albion at 237 E. Long. and 38 N. with the note “N. Porto bonissimo.”

[Our California friends must permit me to say that Porto bonissimo is a very strong phrase for the open road-stead of “Sir Francis Drake’s Bay” as it is now understood.]

The back of 86, a large sheet, is covered with a note which includes a long copy from a Jesuit letter writer in Jeddo, in the year 1621; letter 217 by Padre Girolano de Angelis, as to a Japanese statement made to him; viz:

That from Matzuma in Japan towards the east, was 90 days sail, at 18 to 20 miles per day, and that from the same place to the west, which they call Nixir, is 60 days sail.

[I print the notes above substantially as I made them in Munich. Unfortunately for me when I visited the Library the next day to make further study of these original maps of Dudley’s, I found that in honor of St. John’s day, it was closed. I had to solace myself as I could, by

* “Quivira was discovered by Drake, the Englishman, in 1582; it was so cold in the month of June that he could not bear it. Then he went to 38½ degrees, and the weather was temperate and he called it Nova Albion. But the insupportable cold continued to 43 degrees,” (that is to one coming south). In the printed editions the date 1582 is corrected to 1579.

remembering that on that day Cabot discovered North America. In London afterwards Mr. Major rendered me every assistance in the British Museum, where they have a fine copy of the Engraved Arcano del Mare, and there and at our Cambridge, I have studied the engraved maps, which, so far as the identification of the Californian localities goes, seem to me to deserve more interest than they have received. It is evident that Dudley thought he had first rate authority. It is known that he was Cavendish's brother-in-law, and it seems impossible that he should not have had Cavendish's charts. Cavendish's first voyage in the South Sea was in 1587. His second, in which he died, was in 1592-3.

The engraved Arcano omits many of the maps in the MS. The most important of the large maps of Hudson's Bay are omitted. I believe them to have been drawn from Hudson's own, because there was no other authority possible. It seems to me that they have very high authority. The date of that series is evidently after 1620, and before 1630.

I will mention here, that the map printed in fac-simile in O'Callaghan, from an old map in Albany, is the southwestern quarter of No. 3, of the "Arcano."

NOTE ON ROBERT DUDLEY,

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

AND HIS ARCANO DEL MARE.

Robert Dudley, who took in Italy the title of Duke of Northumberland, was the son of the celebrated Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by Lady Douglas Howard, the widow of Lord Sheffield. He was born at Sheen in Surrey, in 1573.

Lady Douglas Sheffield and her son always claimed, and apparently with good grounds, that Leicester was secretly married to her. If he were, this Robert Dudley should have inherited Leicester's titles.

But in 1576, immediately after the Countess of Essex became a widow, Leicester privately married her. He abandoned and disowned Lady Sheffield; and her son, Robert Dudley, was declared to be only his natural issue. Leicester never abandoned him however, but, under his direction he was educated by Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and when he came to the proper age, he was sent to Christ Collegé, Oxford.

At Leicester's death, in 1588, he left to this Robert Dudley, Kenilworth and the lordships of Denbigh and Chick, and the bulk of his estate.

The young man's genius was adventurous, and he shared the enthusiasm of his time for maritime exploits. He married a sister of the navigator, Thomas Cavendish, and in 1592 took out letters of administration on Cavendish's estate. There seems to be some question whether Cavendish were then dead, but he had been long absent from England.

This circumstance seems to me to give special interest to Dudley's notes on the Pacific Ocean, and his maps of the California Coast, of which he always speaks as if he had authorities at first hand. Cavendish had entered the Pacific Ocean, Jan. 6, 1587, had passed along the coast to Acapulco *and California*, and reached England by way of Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 9, 1588.

This was just the time of Leicester's death, and the young Sir Robert Dudley hoped to make an expedition to the South Seas. Queen Elizabeth prevented him, and disappointed in this hope he fitted out an expedition at his own charge in 1594, and sailed for Trinidad and Guiana,

of which expedition he wrote a modest narrative, which is in Hackluyt, p. 514, Vol. III. He was in the river Orinoco just before Raleigh. After the death of his first wife, about the end of Elizabeth's reign, he married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh.

In 1605 he began a suit to prove the legitimacy of his birth, but the suspicion with which he was regarded by the government, and the steady opposition of the Countess of Essex, his father's widow, if his birth were illegitimate, stood in his way. At the same time he abandoned his own wife, seduced the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, and went with her to Florence, in Italy, where he took the title of Earl of Warwick. On going abroad he took a license to travel "with three servants, four geldings and eighty pounds in money." Travelling on the continent would seem to have been cheaper than it is now. It is said that Elizabeth Southwell went disguised as one of the servants. In 1607 James I. recalled him, but he refused to obey the call, and his estate during his life was seized by the crown. Kenilworth was bought by agreement with him, for the young Prince Henry, for £14,500, of which only £3,000 were ever paid to him.

He died in 1639.

He was a favorite with Cosmo II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was of great service to that country.

The creation of the present city of Leghorn, as a large and beautiful commercial mart, is due to his engineering skill and enterprise in draining a vast morass between Pisa and the sea.

He improved the harbor of Leghorn, induced the Duke to proclaim it a free port, and persuaded many English merchants to settle there.

The Duke of Tuscany made him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire. He became chamberlain to the Grand Duchess, and he then assumed his grandfather's title of the Duke of Northumberland.

It is by this title that he is known in the Italian histories, and this is the title given to him in his manuscript atlas in the library of Munich, which these notes describe.

He was always a patron of science and literature. His most important work is the "Arcano del Mare," in which are engraved a part of the maps in the Munich MSS. collection. The title of the first edition is "Del Arcano del Mare di Roberto Dudleo, Duca di Nortumbria e Conte di Warwick, libri VI., Firenze, 1630, 46, 47." It is in royal folio, 3 vols., beautifully executed. This first edition is now very rare; a copy of it, mentioned by Lowndes, sold for £30 9s. I found two sets in the British Museum. There is one of the same in perfect order in the library of Harvard College.

A part of the Arcano del Mare is in the Public Library of the city of Worcester.

Gorton's estimate of Dudley is in these words: "Like others of his family he was an active, clever, well-informed, but unprincipled man."

I cannot find that Hallam notices him at all. I cannot but think that

the maps and dissertations in the *Arcano del Mare*, are of much more importance than one would infer from Gorton's remarks. If, as I believe, he used the original charts of Henry Hudson, the manuscript at Munich gives us by far the most accurate account we have of the northern voyages of that discoverer. I have already said that there is reason to suspect that the maps of the Pacific Coast were drawn from the original observations of Cavendish.

I have read but little of the text of the *Arcano*, but I ought to say that what I have read seems to me much more judicious, and to show much more real scientific knowledge than the average of such speculations in those days.

The Atlas in the *Arcano* contains thirty-three maps of America. My notes on the Munich Atlas show that that contains forty-six maps in manuscript. After the engraved map, No. 33, the reference to Drake and the coldness of Oregon is in the following words:

“Questa Carta e l' ultima del sesto Libro, la quale comincia co'l porto di Nuova Albion di longitudine gr. 237 e latitudine gr. 38 scoperto dal Drago Inglese nel 1579 in circa, come di sopra, luogo comodo per far' acqua, e pigliare altri rinfrescamenti. Il detto Drago trovò, che li genti saluatichi del paese erano molto cortesi, e amorevoli, e la terra assai ben fruttifera, e l'aria temperata. Vidde di conigli in quantità grande, ma con code lunghe come i topi, e di molti cavalli saluatichi, con maggior maraviglia, atteso che gli Spagnuoli non videro mai cavalli nell' America; e la ragione perchè il Drago cercò, e trovò detto porto, fu questa, che essendo passato il capo Mendozino vero di latitudine gr. 42 e mezzo per far acqua, fin a gr. 43 e mez. di latitudine Tramontana egli trovò la costa con tanto freddo nel mese di Giugno che le sue genti non erano abili à comportarlo, del che si maraviglio assai, essendo il clima quasi pari à quelli di Toscana, e di Roma in Italia.”

I annex heliotype copies of tracings from two of the maps in the *Arcano*. The larger one is from the second book, at page 18. The smaller is from that just named, map 33, of part 2nd, volume III., being indeed the last map in the collection, and corresponding to the MS. map 84 in the Munich Atlas.

It will be observed that the only name which appears on both of these little fragments is that of “Puerto dell Nuova Albion, Scoperto dal Drago Inglese,” which on the other appears as “P.to di Nuova Albion.” In both it is represented as a bay well closed by its headlands,—and an anchorage.

On both tracings another bay of similar shape is represented just to the North of Drake's bay. In one this is called “Baia S. Michele.” In the other it appears as “Po. di. don Gasper.” It is to be observed that this also, has the curious bottle shaped look of Drake's bay,—and I must be indulged the remark, that the bay of San Francisco, after numerous reductions and copyings would assume much this shape in the hydrography of that time.

I confess that it seems to me that more than one navigator of those times probably entered the Golden Gate into the bay of San Francisco. Each one recorded his own latitude,—and these two bays of map 33, almost identical in appearance, are due to an effort of the map maker to include two incorrect latitudes, in one map. If the maker of the *Arcano* had made his "B. St. Michele" identical with his "Porto di Nuova Albion" there could be little doubt that it represented the present Bay of San Francisco.

The full title of the first map is "*Carta prima generale d'America dell' India Occidentale è Mare del Zur.*"

The full title of the other map, No. 33, is "*Carta particolare dello Stretto di Jezo fra l'America è L'Isola Jezo.*" For further illustration of these maps, I annex the line of coast as drawn by our own geographers, from Colton's Atlas.

The copy of the *Arcano* in the library of Harvard College is from the Collection of Ebeling. In his own handwriting is this note on the first page, after stating that he had received it from the Chamber of Commerce of Hamburg:

"*Liber longe rarissimus æque ac maximi pretii, paucis visis, quoque instructissimæ sæpe caruere Bibliothecæ Publicæ.*" Vol. I. has the date 1646. Vol. II. and III. have the date 1647.

My authorities in the notes I here make of Dudley's life, beside the biographical dictionaries, are:

1. "*Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester, together with memoirs and correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley.* By George Adlard, London: Smith, 1870."

Mr. Adlard does not seem to have seen the *Arcano*.

2. "*The Italian Biography of Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, known in Florentine history as 'Il Duca di Nortombria.'*" By the Vicar of Stoneligh.

This volume seems to have been a part of the Warwickshire Historical Collections. The author, whose name, at this moment, I do not know, says: "The reader is to be informed that as Vicar of Stoneligh the writer has a commemorative duty to perform every year, which necessarily brought him to the knowledge of Sir Robert Dudley's character." The author is convinced that Dudley was the legitimate son of Leicester, and shows that Charles I. was of this opinion. He refers for Sir H. Nicolas Harris Nicolas's opinion to pp. 248, 249, 250, 251 of the Report on the Peerage Case before the Lords in 1824. See also Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 166.

REMARKS OF PROF. SMYTH,

ON SOME OF THE CONNECTIONS, BY MARRIAGE, OF

COLUMBUS.

MR. PRESIDENT:—

The Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* gave, more than a year since, a brief account of a new investigation into the history of the family with which Christopher Columbus was united by marriage. Mr. Irving† has pointed out in an interesting way the influence of this connection on the career of the great Discoverer, and his statements are fitted to awaken a desire for further information. As no notice has been taken in this country, so far as I am aware, of the essay alluded to, I will read, with your permission, a translation of the article in the Augsburg Journal, hoping that some one may be prompted to furnish us with the original paper.

“The Biographers of the Discoverer of the New World agree in relating that his first wife was a Portuguese of Italian descent. Several of them, Spaniards as well as Italians, complete the account by the more precise statement that the Pallastrelli family in Piacenza was the stem from which sprang the Portuguese Perestrello, to whom belonged the Filippa who gave her hand to the great Genoese, without being permitted to become a witness of his fame. Since the last third of the sixteenth century connections were entered

* Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Nr 118, 1872.

† Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, I., p. 42 et seq.

date, through the two branches of the family, at first through the Venetian branch, Fra Lodovico de' Boja Perestrelli, who was a scholar and became Professor in Bologna and Secretary of the then known Cardinal Gabriel Paleotto. His acquaintance, however exact, helped to find the right track. This was done by Count Bernardo Pallastrelli, Vice-President of the Royal Historical Commission for Modena, Parma, and Reggio, in an essay,* the results of his investigations in the Archives of Piacenza, and of information received from Lisbon, Madrid, and elsewhere.

The family Perestrelli appears first towards the end of the sixteenth century, and numerous members of it are found taking part in civil offices and military service in Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, and also abroad, as Podesta in Modena, Bologna, Parma, Reggio, etc. Their possessions stretched from the foot of the Po to the front heights of the Apennines. Filippo, son of Antonio Pallastrelli and Bertolina Biondini, went, about the year 1583, to Portugal, at the beginning of the reign of King John I. What drew him thither is not known. That he lived as a nobleman is attested by the tradition which has remained in the family, as well as by the position of his two sons, borne by Caterina Vincenti, Bartolommeo and Raffaele. The posterity of the latter still dwells at Funchal in Madeira. Bartolommeo was one of the men of the *La Zante* Don Juan, brother of Don Henry the navigator, and was commissioned by the latter to colonize the small island Porto Santo, which Gonzales Zarco and Tristão Vaz, after the conflicts on the northern coast of Africa, had first touched, it is said, on their voyages in the year 1418. A Venetian traveller, Luigi da Cadamosto, who visited Porto Santo in 1433, calls Bartolommeo Perestrello (the name had taken this form in the foreign land), its Governor. Filippo, his daughter, married, about 1476, Christopher Columbus. Fernando, son of the discoverer by a second marriage, names indeed a Pietro Perestrello, but with all others who have written about his great father the name Bartolommeo appears, so that an error is to be presumed in the biography by Fernando. Bartolommeo was dead when the marriage took place. Columbus dwelt a

* Il suo nome e la moglie di Cristoforo Colombo, in den *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patria*, &c., Vol. VI., 1872.

long time at Porto Santo, where the charts and papers of the deceased Bartolommeo, which Columbus found in the house of his mother-in-law, are said to have afforded him materials for study. * * * A sister of Filippa was married to Pedro Correa, a brave voyager who for some time held the captaincy at Porto Santo. This, as Bartolommeo appears to have left no son, passed over to the descendants of his brother, who still possessed it as an inheritance in the second half of the preceding century. The coat of arms which the Pallastrelli of Piacenza have in common with their Portuguese kindred, shows a springing lion."

MEMORANDUM
AS TO THE
DISCOVERY OF THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO,
BY JOHN T. DOYLE.
WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
BY JOHN D. WASHBURN.

MR. WASHBURN said :

Before reading the memorandum which Mr. Doyle has furnished, it may be well to re-call to the attention of the Society the circumstances out of which the expedition of Portala grew.

The Jesuits, as will be remembered, never entered Upper California. Their missions were scattered along the peninsula of Lower California, and therein they were content to remain. Some of them seem to have been persuaded that the region north of the peninsula, while it offered great space for the diffusion of missionary labor, was even more dreary and forbidding than that they were occupying. Indeed, after the expulsion, they seem to have thought Lower as well as Upper California a desert and profitless tract of country, of which they were well and happily relieved. This conviction is well illustrated in Father Begart's "Historical Sketch of the American Peninsula" of California.

But in 1767, Charles the Third of Spain made a decree expelling the Jesuits from all his dominions, and of those dominions California was a part. The hopes of the early fathers were blighted, and the fruits of their labors were abandoned, to be gathered by strangers to their Order. Their missions were taken from them, their property sequestered, the possession of their "pious fund" assumed by the crown, and their spiritual prerogatives transferred to the Order of St. Francis.

In Lafuente's "*Historia General de Españã*," published in Madrid, in 1858, the text of this decree may be found. It briefly orders the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions. The reasons for its issue pertain to the history of Spain rather than to that of California. Under its provisions the ownership of the property of the Jesuits of the peninsula was assumed by the crown, which also took possession of the "Pious Fund." It appears, however, that this fund, given in trust to the fathers for specific purposes, was theoretically regarded and practically treated by the crown as a trust. Its income was devoted to the purpose for which it was given, though the channel of its distribution was changed. Mr. Doyle has written a brief article on the subject of this Pious Fund, a copy of which is laid on the Society's table to-day.

It should be added that the edict of expulsion of the Jesuits was dated February 27, 1767. In 1768 this was carried into practical effect in California, and by order of the Viceroy the missions of the Jesuits were placed in charge of the Franciscans. Two years later, April 8, 1770, a royal decree directed that half the missions be conceded to the

Dominicans. Subsequently, by a convention of the authorities of the two orders, to which the Viceroy gave assent, it was arranged that the Dominicans should have charge of all the missions of the peninsula, and the Franciscans of those of Upper California.

This division was a natural one in view of events that took place in 1769, the year before it was made. The progressive and aspiring Franciscan did not abandon Lower California till he had found a country better suited to every purpose for which he wanted a country at all.

And it happened in this wise.

The Viceroy of Mexico at that time was the Marquis de Croix. Father Junipero Serra had been, under the new order of things, selected as President of the Missions. He entered on his office at Loreto, in April, 1768, and made this entry on the manuscript record of the church there. "We are in the mission and royal presidio of Loreto, capital of this peninsula of California, sixteen religious priests, preachers and apostolic missionaries, * * * the fathers of the Company of Jesus having been expelled, for reasons known to his Majesty." A remarkable man was Father Serra, enthusiastic, brave, devoted, of marvellous power to charm, and cheerful in enduring all suffering and privation. Palou, in his life, printed in Mexico, about 1779, gives a sketch of his character, which, though perhaps highly colored, through personal partiality and regard, yet furnishes a picture, after all due allowance made, of a man of commanding talent, of heroic and lofty purpose, of "an understanding animated with ardor and enlightened by prophecy," inspired with the conviction, with the expression of which the Jesuit Venegas closes his history, that "on the North side of California,

(Lower California, that of the Jesuits), are vast countries, inhabited by infidel natives, who never have heard of Christianity and the glad tidings of salvation it offers to the human race. And surely it is an undertaking highly conformable both to the dictates of humanity and the precepts of the gospel, to convert such multitudes of the human species from their brutal and enormous vices to the paths of virtue and religion."

From this man, placed at a critical juncture at the head of so important interests, opportunity was not long withheld. In the same year that he established himself at Loreto, the new visitor-general, José de Galvez, arrived with an order from the king to re-discover by sea (substantially what Viscayno undertook to accomplish), and establish a settlement at San Diego. Galvez was not slow to enter on the execution of this order, nor was an earnest coadjutor wanting in the person of Father Serra. Two expeditions were at once organized, one by sea and one by land. Each of them was, for prudential reasons, divided into two detachments, but all had San Diego for their destination.

On January 9th, 1769, the flag-ship of the expedition, the *San Carlos*, sailed from La Paz. She was followed by the blessing of Father Serra, and Galvez, in a brief address, bade her God-speed. On the 15th of February the *San Antonio* sailed, and the two vessels were freighted with the material supplies for the founding of their missions. The Governor of Lower California, Gaspar de Portala, commanded the land expedition. Don Fernando Rivera de Moucada was placed at the head of a detachment of this, and set out on the 24th of March. Father Crespi, whose journal is the foundation of Mr. Doyle's paper, accompanied

him—and Father Serra, with the Governor, remained till May, when the last of the four detachments started for the North. It arrived at San Diego on the 1st of July, the others having reached that point before it. Randolph, in his "Outline of the history of California," claims for this day "a prouder distinction than belongs to it as the birthday of Wellington and Napoleon, for it was the first day on which white men entered Upper California determined to live and die there." This last distinction may well be conceded to the day, although the exact historian will not admit that Napoleon and Wellington were born on the same day, or that either of them was born on July 1, 1769.

And so they rejoiced together, and, obedient to the injunction given the Jesuits more than half a century before, they took possession of the country in the King's name. They founded their mission, erected a temporary church edifice, planted their crops, sang masses, and burned gunpowder as incense. The heart of Father Serra was gladdened by the prospect of an early and abundant harvest of souls.

But Galvez had instructed Portala to re-discover Monterey and its bay. It was not his province to aid Father Serra in securing salvation to the infidel. His office was to find the bay Viscayno saw one hundred and sixty-six years before, and which had never been re-visited. Resting at San Diego, and sharing in the labors and rejoicings of the brave Father, Portala made his preparations for the Northern expedition, and on the 14th day of July set forth.

And at this point Mr. Doyle takes up the story.

MR. DOYLE'S MEMORANDUM.

It appears to me that the question as to the discovery of what we now call the Bay of San Francisco, is nearly, if not quite, set at rest by the diary of Fr. John Crespi, contained in Palou's Notices of Upper California. Father Crespi was one of the Missionaries who accompanied the first expedition, which, under the command of Don Gaspar Portala, moved up the coast, by land, from San Diego. The last detachment of the first colonists had reached San Diego on July 1st, 1769, and after a fortnight's repose there, this party started to the northward on the 14th of the same month. They were ordered to seek Monterey, where two small schooners, the San José and the Principe, were directed to meet them. It is inferable from the text that they were furnished with Viscayno's description of the various points on the coast he had visited, and it is reasonable to suppose that the journals, &c., of Viscayno's voyage, though never published, and said now to be unfindable among the Spanish Archives, were then accessible to the authorities.* On reaching their destination they found the "point of Pines" in the latitude assigned to it by Viscayno,

* At all events, though Viscayno's maps and journals were not found by Venegas, and are probably, as said by Mr. Doyle, unfindable. Torquemada's account of this voyage was then, as now, extant, and from it a very good idea of the results of the expedition could be obtained.

but could not recognize, in the great open roadstead to the north of it, the Bay of Monterey, described by him. After consultation they determined to advance further to the northward, on the supposition of an error in latitude. They adopted this suggestion the more readily because they mistook what afterwards turned out to be a fog bank, for the loom of a projecting point to the northward, which they supposed might prove the true point Pinos. They therefore resumed their march, keeping close to the ocean shore, and advanced as far as Half Moon Bay. The headland which shelters this bay on the north, now called point *Corral de Tierra*, they called point *Guardian Angel*. There they halted, and finding their latitude to be $37^{\circ} 31'$, considerably above that assigned to Monterey, with nothing in the character of the coast, since leaving point Pinos, to correspond to the description of it, they concluded they must have passed it by; that either Viscayno's description of it was much too highly colored, or else that the bay itself had, since his visit, been filled up with silt or destroyed by some convulsion of nature.* Before returning they sent a party over the hills to the northeastward to reconnoitre the interior, with orders to return in three days. At the end of that period the explorers came back, firing muskets, waving banderas and shouting the news of a great discovery. The whole camp went out to meet them, and learned that from the crest of the hills they had discovered, to the eastward, a great arm of the sea (or Mediterranean sea as they

* An examination of the map of this bay, if such it can properly be termed, will show that the expedition could not properly be charged with a lack of ordinary intelligence in not recognizing it as the bay described in the account of Viscayno's voyage.

termed it,) with a fair and extensive valley bordering it, rich and fertile,—a paradise compared to the country they had been passing over. The following morning the camp was broken up and the whole expedition moved north-eastwardly over the hills. From their summits overhanging San Mateo, they discovered the “Farallones at the Bay of San Francisco,” and Point Reyes, the latitude of which they determined approximately. In order to reach it and the Bay of San Francisco, as they understood it, they had to pass round the great sheet of water spread out before them, and to this end they turned to the southeast through what we now call the Cañada Raymundo. On Whitney’s map of the Vicinity of San Francisco, you can trace their daily marches and encampments. They advanced as far as the crossing of the San Francisquito creek, near where the Village of Searsville now stands, and there, finding that the estuary which had narrowed thus far, grew wider again, they doubted the prudence of venturing further. A council was called, which in view of the lateness of the season, the scarcity of provisions, (they had been on short allowance ever since leaving Point Pinos), and the increasing hostility of the natives, voted to return. Portala would have pushed on, but was overruled, and in deference to the views of his companions, sadly began to retrace his steps on the 11th Nov., 1769. I have little doubt these were the first white men who ever saw this Bay of San Francisco.

Portala’s expedition reached Point Pinos on its homeward trip Nov. 27, and after spending nearly a fortnight more in searching the coast, up and down, for the Bay of Monterey, finally, on Dec. 9 gave it up as one of the things which could not be found out, and started on their return to San

Diego, where they arrived, worn out with hunger and fatigue, on the 24th of January following.

Before leaving Point Pinos they erected on its southern side a large wooden cross, partly as a memento of their sojourn there, and partly to attract the attention of the expedition by sea, in case of its reaching the same place. On the cross was cut the legend, "*Dig at the foot of this, and you will find a writing;*" and at its foot accordingly they buried a brief account of their journey. Its text is set forth in the diary of Father Crespi, and is as follows:

"The overland expedition which left San Diego on the 14th of July, 1769, under the command of Don Gaspar Portala, Governor of California, reached the channel of Santa Barbara on the 9th of August, and passed Point Conception on the 27th of the same month. It arrived at the sierra de Santa Lucia on the 13th of September, entered that range of mountains on the 17th of the same month, and emerged from it on the 1st of October; on the same day caught sight of Point Pinos, and the harbors on its north and south sides, without discovering any indications or landmarks of the Bay of Monterey. Determined to push on further in search of it, and on the 30th of October got sight of Point Reyes and the Farallones, at the Bay of San Francisco, which are seven in number. The expedition strove to reach Point Reyes, but was hindered by an immense arm of the sea, which, extending to a great distance inland, compelled them to make an enormous circuit, for that purpose. In consequence of this and other difficulties, the greatest of all being the absolute want of food, the expedition was compelled to turn back, believing that they must have passed the harbor of Monterey without discovering it.

Started on return from the Bay of San Francisco on the 11th of November, passed Point Año Nuevo on the 19th, and reached this point and harbor of Pinos on the 27th of the same month. From that date until the present 9th of December, we have used every effort to find the Bay of Monterey, searching the coast, notwithstanding its ruggedness, far and wide, but in vain. At last, undeceived and despairing of finding it, after so many efforts, sufferings and labors, and having left of all our provisions but 14 small sacks of flour, we leave this place to-day for San Diego. I beg of Almighty God to guide it; and for you, traveller, who may read this, that He may guide you, also, to the harbor of eternal salvation."

"Done, in this harbor of Pinos, the 9th of December, 1769."

"NOTE.—That Don Michael Constanzo, the engineer, observed the latitude of various places on the coast, and the same are as follows:"

"San Diego, at the camp occupied by the overland expedition, $32^{\circ} 42'$."

"The Indian village at the east end of the channel of Santa Barbara, $34^{\circ} 13'$."

"Point Concepcion, $34^{\circ} 30'$."

"The southern foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, $35^{\circ} 45'$."

"Its northern extremity in this harbor and Point of Pinos, $36^{\circ} 36'$."

"Point Año Nuevo, which has low reefs of rocks, $36^{\circ} 04'$."*

"The land near the harbor of San Francisco, having the Farallones on the west, quartering north, $37^{\circ} 35'$."

[* Probably an error in transcribing; the other latitudes given are very nearly correct.]

“Point Reyes, which we discovered on the west, north-west from the same place, supposed to be $37^{\circ} 44'$.”

“If the commanders of the schooners, either the *San José* or the *Principe*, should reach this place within a few days after this date, on learning the contents of this writing, and of the distressed condition of this expedition, we beseech them to follow the coast down closely towards San Diego, so that if we should be happy enough to catch sight of them we may be able to apprize them, by signals, flags and firearms, the place in which succor and provisions may reach us.”

“‘Glory be to God,’ says the pious chronicler, “the cross was erected on a little hillock close to the beach of the small harbor on the south side Point Pinos, and at its foot we buried the letter.”

On the other side of the point they erected another cross, and carved on its arms, with a razor, the words:

“The overland expedition from San Diego returned from this place on the 9th of December, 1769, starving.”

In 1771, and subsequently, the endeavors to reach the Bay of San Francisco, under the lee of Point Reyes, were continued.—The diaries of these expeditions we have in Palou's Notices. This great arm of the sea was a standing obstacle to their success. One of these expeditions, in endeavoring to pass round it, got over the coast range into the valley of the San Joaquin River, and disregarding its original object, carried its explorations as far to the southward as the vicinity of the Tulare Lakes. Finally Father Palou himself made the suggestion that the Bay of San Francisco could only be reached from this side, by sea, and that therefore they had better establish provisionally a mission here,

at the extremity of the Peninsula, and get up a boat with which to approach San Francisco. This advice was adopted, and the mission of San Francisco founded here, he himself being appointed the first missionary in charge of it.

It is pretty plain that what we call Drake's Bay, under Point Reyes, was what they understood to be the Bay of San Francisco,* and strove to arrive at, and as they were furnished with Viscayno's description of it, there is, in my mind, little doubt that Drake's Bay is the same which he designated by the name of St. Francis. It is easy to understand that when they finally did get to it, and were able to compare it with this, the intention of forming a settlement there was abandoned in favor of this place, and that the mission established here under the patronage of St. Francis thereafter naturally gave its name to the bay on which it stood.

JOHN T. DOYLE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., July 29, 1873.

* Since the reading of this paper, I have received from Mr. Doyle a letter an extract from which will serve still farther to confirm the theory maintained in his communication.

"The Spanish Archives of this State contained a great deal also, but they are imperfect. For years the government allowed them to be kicked about the presidio and used for waste paper. Gen. Stone, (now serving the Khedive of Egypt), was, I believe, the first scholar who realized their importance, and caused them to be boxed up. I, this morning, casually came across in them a confirmation of the supposition that the present Bay of San Francisco was not, when discovered, supposed to be the one named by Viscayno. It is an original letter from the Marquis de Croix to Don Pedro Fagro, governor, &c., dated Mexico, November 12, 1770, wherein, after acknowledging the receipt of several letters down to a then recent date, and stating that Don Gaspar de Portala, ex-Governor, and Don Miguel Constanzo, both of whom had accompanied the first expedition by land which discovered this bay, (the former as commander, the latter as engineer), had returned to Mexico and recounted to him, personally, the various occurrences, *he goes on to complain of the want of any news of finding the Bay of San Francisco*, which he describes as in 38° 30' latitude. Other documents, as late as 1774, speak of it as still not found."

J. D. W.

MEMORIAL OF GOVERNOR ENDECOTT.

MR. SALISBURY, addressing the Society, said :

It seems to me to be proper that the gift of this excellent portrait of Gov. Endecott should be received with more full consideration of its worth, than the brief notice of the Reports of the Council and the Librarian. It was accompanied by the following letter from Judge Endicott :

SALEM, Oct. 16, 1873. .

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, *President of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester :*

DEAR SIR: Two years ago, when visiting the building of the Society at Worcester, I saw a copy, or what was intended for a copy, of the portrait of John Endecott.* It struck me as so imperfect, and that it did such poor justice to the original, that I then resolved to give to the Society a good copy of the original picture. Circumstances have delayed the accomplishment of this purpose, but I have finally succeeded in obtaining a very excellent copy. I have sent it to Worcester, by express, directed to you, and desire that you present it to the American Antiquarian Society, from me, to be preserved in your collections, with your other historical portraits. It was painted by Mr. Southland, of Salem, from the original portrait, now in the possession of my father, William P. Endicott, of Salem. The original descended to him as the oldest son of the oldest son direct from the Governor, together with the sword with which the cross was cut from the King's colors, and a few other heirlooms. It was painted in 1665,

* The Governor and his descendants, until 1724, spelt the name Endecott.—*Memoir of John Endecott.*

the year of Governor's death, and the tradition in the family declares it to have been a most admirable likeness. I do not know when the several copies in the Senate Chamber, the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Essex Institute were made, but they all are more or less imperfect and inferior, and do not compare in fidelity and character with the picture sent to you. I assure you, my dear sir, I take a great interest in the Society and the good work it is doing, and with my best wishes for its continued growth, and with the kindest personal regards for yourself, believe me,

Very truly yours,

WM. C. ENDICOTT.

In presenting this valuable acquisition for your inspection, I have placed by the side of it a portrait of Gov. Endecott that has hung on your walls for many years, and was received from the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, to whom the Society is indebted for many treasures, in manuscript and print. The old portrait has compelled those, who would admire its subject, to turn away and "see his visage in his mind." This fine painting has the face, not of a cold and narrow bigot, but of a man who would view his object broadly and fearlessly in all its relations, and would not withhold the kindness of those pleasant eyes. We may now gaze on the lineaments and expression that are suited to one, who is described by Edward Johnson in his "Wonder-Working Providence" as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerful spirit, loving or austere as occasion served."* His apprehension and his temper were quick, and his self-control was sometimes astonishing. In all his words and actions there was a constant and cheerful recognition of

* Wonder-Working Providence, 19.

religious duty. The personal beauty, which is here represented, has not been wanting in the ladies of his family in our own day.

John Endecott was born in Dorchester, England, in 1588.* Governor Winthrop was born in the same year. I find nothing more in relation to the social position of Endecott in England than the facts that he was a brother-in-law of Roger Ludlow, and his first wife was Anna Gower, a cousin of Matthew Cradock. This wife died soon after his arrival in New England, and left no children. On 18th of August, 1630, sixty-seven days after the arrival of Governor Winthrop, Endecott was married by Governor Winthrop and Rev^d. Mr. Wilson, to Elizabeth Gibson,† who was born in Cambridge, England, and probably came over with Governor Winthrop. She was the mother of twelve children.

I do not know that there is any other evidence of the scholastic education of Governor Endecott than a few letters and official papers from his pen. These, with an independent variety of spelling—the effect of changing fashion—and an entire disuse of any other language than the English, except in one instance, that I have observed, of the Latin word, “quære,”‡ are of a high character for clear statements and a choice of courteous expressions. His letter, dated Oct. 21, 1663,§ written to persuade Rev^d. Dr. John Owen, of England, to come to Boston, to take the place of Rev. John Norton, deceased, would do honor to any University. It does not appear that he was a lover of study, or of any book but the Bible, to which his allusions were frequent, and were made for strength of sentiment or argument rather than for orna-

* Drake's Am. Dict. of Biography. † Winthrop's New England, 1, 30.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., vol. 6, p. 140. § Felt's Annals of Salem.

ment or display. The memoir by Mr. O. M. Endicott mentions that he was elected a member of the corporation of Harvard College, in 1642, when he was also Deputy Governor. He proved that he deserved this honorable distinction, when on the 9th of May, 1655, he acted in behalf of the Corporation, with the concurrence of the Overseers, in addressing to the General Court an eloquent and persuasive "information" of the condition and necessities of the College and urgently prayed for aid; "if this work of the College be thought fit to be upheld and continued, as we hope that considerations of the glory of God, the honorable interest of the country, the good of posterity and the experience of the benefits and blessings thereof, will constrain all men to say it is, then something must effectually be done for help in the premises."* Rev^d. Dr. Felt in his "Annals of Salem" quotes from the record of the Quarterly Court, that on March 30, 1641, "Col. Endecott moued about the ffences and about a ffree skoole, and therefore wished a whole towne meeting about it; therefore, that Goodman Auger warne a town meeting on the second day of the week." Dr. Felt remarks that "this is the first written intimation of instruction without price among our settlers." As evidence that "in the voluntary support of schools perhaps Boston led the way," Mr. Savage quotes from the Record of 1635, a vote "that our brother Philemon Por-mont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster, for the teaching and nurturing of children with us."† But the merit of Col. Endecott's efforts is not forfeited by want of priority.

* Quincy's Harvard College, 1, 464. † Winthrop's New England, 2, 264, n.

Rev. Dr. Felt mentions that he found in the State House in Boston a bill in Mr. Endecott's handwriting, for the cure of a man committed to his care, in which he styles himself "Chirurgion"; and an early unstudied letter of his, without date, addressed to Governor Winthrop, when Mrs. Winthrop's health was a subject of anxiety, offers Unicorn's Horn, Syrup of Violet, and other rare and potent remedies, and adds, "if I knew how or in what way in this case to do her good I would with with all my heart, and would now have come to you, but I am altogether unskilful in these cases of women."* Mr. Endecott's training and practice in the healing art were probably a part of a slight preparation for the exigencies of his residence in the wilderness. I do not discover that he had any other habitual occupation than the service of the colony; to which he was devoted with equal zeal, as Governor, as Deputy Governor, as Assistant, as Sergeant-Major-General, and in other important duties. To say that he served sixteen years, but not successively, as Governor, till his death, on March 15, 1665, and that he was for four years Deputy Governor, and for the same period Sergeant-Major-General, shows the high responsibility, but not the intensity and value of his labors. His frequent title of Captain, and his election to the offices of Colonel, Sergeant-Major-General, and member of the Military Committee, are evidences of his military reputation. His short campaign against the Pequod Indians in 1636 exposed him to censure. Judge John Davis calls it "an ill-conducted expedition, of which Plymouth and Connecticut complained that it only tended to irritate the Indians and to make them more insolent." He adds that "Johnson

* Mass. His. Soc. Collections, 4th se., VII., 156.

calls it a "bootless voyage," "though its avowed object was death to all the male inhabitants of Block Island, and heavy contributions from the Pequods."* It may be that Endecott, remembering Cradock's benevolent "Instructions,"† was one of those, who thought it would be better to convert some Indians before they killed any. He was not accused of want of courage or prudence, and Governor Winthrop indirectly commended him, in recording as a "marvelous providence," that they came all safe to Boston. As a planter he is remembered for his fruit trees, and particularly for a pear tree, set by him, on an estate now owned by a descendant, which in the present year bore a large crop. His exchange, in 1645, of 500 apple trees for 2 acres of land is recorded.‡

The personal eminence, and other resources of Governor Winthrop have thrown into shade the first administration of Governor Endecott in weakness and sore perplexities. The historical memorials of Endecott are few and scattered. That part of the records of the Company that related to the sending him and his companions, and the position in which he came, has not been preserved. The early letters of instruction to him, and his letters in return, showing how he understood and performed his duty, are lost. The official records of the proceedings of his brief government, and his letters in explanation and defence of his measures, are so lost and forgotten that a doubt has arisen whether he ever held the office. He has been separately commemorated only in the interesting and modest "memoir," prepared by Charles M. Endicott, Esq., a descendant of the seventh generation, and printed for the use

* Winthrop's New England, I., 229-233. Morton's Memorial, 196. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I., 60. † Archaeologia Americana, III., 84. ‡ Mem. of John Endecott, by C. M. Endicott.

of his family, in an edition so small that the book is not accessible to the public. Endecott did not, like his friend, leave evidence of his administrative ability and unsurpassed discretion, in an admirable journal of the public incidents of his time; and in a large correspondence, carefully preserved, to be presented for the instruction of posterity, by filial reverence that comprehends his large views and sympathizes in his spirit.

The standing of Mr. Endecott in history as a ruler and one whom Homer would describe as "a shepherd of the people," has been injured by the careless writing of some of his contemporaries and best friends. They have conveyed the impression that he came to the Colony with the royal charter, not to establish and act under civil government, but to prepare for it; a different and more humble duty. Mr. William Hubbard, the historian, who is supposed to be indebted for information in a great degree, to his own neighbor, Roger Conant, and to Governor Winthrop, makes the same representation, with the addition that Mr. Endecott was the "new agent," as Mr. Conant had been the "agent before." He also states that Mr. John White, who, in his home in Dorchester, England, was truly the "Planter" of Massachusetts Bay, engaged the Treasurer of "the Joint Adventurers" to write to Mr. Conant to induce him to remain here, before Mr. Endecott was employed, and also to "'signify to Mr. Conant' that they had chosen him to be their Governor in that place and would commit to him the charge of all their affairs."* It has hence been inferred that Mr. Conant was as much a Governor as Mr. Endecott.

* Hubbard's New England, 106, 109.

Mr. Haven, the Librarian, and a member of the Council of our Society, has brought out the truth of this passage of history in such condensed and lucid order, in the Third Volume of our Transactions, that it would be sufficient to refer to his conclusions, if it were not desirable to ascertain the value and merit of the public service of these Fathers of Massachusetts, by a view of the more important incidents of their lives. Among many contributions, with which Mr. Haven has enriched this Society, there is none of greater interest and authority, than that account of the "Origin of the Company."

Mr. Roger Conant was "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," residing in Plymouth, about two years after 1623.* Charles Deane, LL.D., in his valuable notes to the edition of Bradford's History of Plymouth, which we owe to his personal exertions, takes notice that Bradford does not mention Conant in that history.† On account of dislike of the principles of rigid separation, Conant migrated from Plymouth to Nantasket, where he was connected with Lyford and Oldham, unlucky and disreputable companions. When this settlement was broken up, he, with Lyford and a part of the settlers, attempted a settlement at Cape Ann. There he received the encouragement of John White and the offer of the office of Governor, that has been mentioned, but I find no record that he ever exercised legal authority. From Cape Ann he removed with a part of the settlers to Naumkeag. There, in 1626 or 1627, Mr. John White wrote to him, "not so to desert the business," with Lyford and others, who were going to Virginia, and "faithfully promised" if

* Hubbard's New England, 106 and 107.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., III., 195.

Conant and Woodbury, Balch and Palfrey, known to be honest and prudent men, would remain, they should receive supplies, and a patent should be provided. This was agreed to ; but before they received any return according to their desires, the three "honest men" last mentioned began to recoil, on account of fear of the Indians and other inconveniences, and resolved to go to Virginia with Lyford. But Mr. Conant, "as one inspired by some superior instinct, though earnestly pressed to go, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, though all the rest should forsake him, not doubting, as he said, but if they departed, he should soon have more company. The other three observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him," and they sent to England for supplies. This was the great work of Conant, to preserve the nucleus of a settlement at Naumkeag, which Endecott and Winthrop enlarged into a Colony. . In 1671 Mr. Conant, in a petition to the General Court for a grant of land, says, "I have been a planter in New England for forty years and upwards, being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolved and made good any settlement with my family in this colony, and I have been instrumental for the founding and carrying on the same ; and when in the infancy thereof it was in great danger of being deserted, I was the means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few, who were here with me."* He also mentions that he "was the first that had a house in Salem." There were two other instances in which Mr. Conant exercised public authority, but in both he acted as a man and not as a ruler. The first

* Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, 27, n.

occurred, as Mr. Deane points out, before Conant's residence at Cape Ann.* A quarrel arose at Cape Ann, about a fishing stand, between the residents and a company from Plymouth, under Capt. Standish, who would have led them on to blows and bloodshed, if Mr. Conant, and Mr. Pierce, Captain of the *May Flower*, being present, had not interposed "with prudence and moderation," and removed the cause of disagreement.† Hubbard also mentions that Mr. Conant acted as peacemaker in a controversy between the older residents and the men who came with Endecott to Naumkeag, which in consequence of this, or after this, was called Salem, the city of peace. I do not know that there is any record, that on this or any other occasion Mr. Conant had any official intercourse with Mr. Endecott. The quiet retirement, in which Mr. Conant lived after the arrival of Endecott to the end of his long life, gives probability to the remark of Dr. Young, that "Conant and his associates, as was natural, appear to have been jealous of the new comers who had arrived with Endecott, and probably did not like it that their authority was to be superseded by his government, and their plantation absorbed by his colony. The Massachusetts Company seem to have treated the old planters with great consideration and kindness."‡ Though Mr. Conant was well known and respected, he is not mentioned by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, and I do not find that in the last 49 years of his life, he held any public office but that of Delegate from Salem to the General Court in 1634, and, in 1637, the office of a Justice of the Quarterly Court. His life extended from 1591 to 1679.§

* *Mass. His. Soc. Coll.*, 4th se., III., 195, n. † Hubbard's *New England*, 110-111.

‡ Young's *Chron. Massachusetts*, p. 145, n. § *Geneal. Register*, 2, 233, 329.

The desire to establish a Puritan Colony, that induced the "Joint Adventurers" at Dorchester, England, to attempt to support the plantation of Mr. Conant, was entertained by stronger men with more systematic arrangements, in London. In the Planter's Plea, we read that "enquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage; and it fell out that among others, they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept the offer as soon as it was tendered."* Hereupon divers persons subscribed "a reasonable sum of money." On the 19th of March, 1628, John Endecott joined with five other "religious persons," Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey and Simon Whetcomb, in purchasing "a patent" of the territory of Massachusetts Bay from "the Corporation styled the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America."† Without delay, a company of the patentees and their associates was organized by the election of Matthew Cradock, a merchant of wealth, liberality, and influence, as the Governor, with a Deputy Governor and a Council of Assistants of the same character and standing. On the 20th of June, 1628,‡ three months after the purchase of the patent, John Endecott sailed with about one hundred followers, and arrived at Naumkeag on the 6th of September. No part of the records of the company, in relation to sending Endecott, is preserved, except an order to pay the passage of him and his family after his arrival was known, on Feb.

*Planter's Plea in Chron. Massachusetts, p. 13.

† Hutchinson's Massachusetts. ‡ *Archæologia Americana*, III., 3.

13, 1629.* But a letter from Matthew Cradock to Capt. Endecott, dated Feb. 16, 1629, incidentally furnishes all the information that is necessary. The letter is partly private and partly in behalf of the company. It acknowledges letters of "large advise" dated 13th of Sept. last, for which hearty thanks are given. These letters, and a letter from Mr. Cradock mentioned with date of Nov. last, have not been found. Mr. Cradock speaks of the increase of the company, promises supplies, and asks for return cargoes; says we are confident of your best endeavors for the general good, and trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of the plantation, and keep a watchful eye over your own people, and endeavor to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the gospel; he commends his prudence in giving our countrymen content in the point of planting tobacco for the present, but trusts that other means more comfortable and profitable may be found; he warns him to be cautious and distrustful towards the Indians, and informs him it is fully resolved to send over at least two ministers; but does not promise the office of Governor or any increase of official power, nor does he recognize or allude to any other authority in Capt. Endecott than that which belongs to a wise and good man, who is respected as the Father of his people. It is passing strange that no allusion is made to the expectation of a royal charter, with full powers of civil government for the company, in this letter, dated sixteen days before March 4, 1629, the date of the charter. The charter recites the names of John Endecott and the other purchasers, at whose "humble suit and petition" it was granted.† On the

* *Archæologia Americana*, III. 8.

† *Hutchinson's Papers*, p. 1.

30th of April, 1629, an order of "the General Court at London" states that Capt. Endecott had been chosen by the Company to be Governor of the Plantation in Massachusetts Bay "for one whole year, or UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THIS COURT SHALL SEE FIT TO MAKE CHOICE OF ANY OTHER TO SUCCEED IN HIS PLACE." A deputy Governor and a council of Assistants were elected with the same term of office; and official oaths were required by the Charter before they undertook the execution of the several offices. Persons were specially assigned to administer the oath to the Governor. I cannot ascertain the date of the election of Governor Endecott. A letter of instructions from the Governor and Deputy Governor of the company to him and his council, dated April 17, mentions the election as a past transaction, forwards to him a "*duplicate*" of the "Letters Patent under the Broad Seal," as the charter was called, offers expressions of strong confidence, and gives much good advice. This, and a second letter from the same source and for the same purpose, dated May 28, have been justly admired as able statements of the views and intentions of the men by whom the settlement was projected.

The Planter's Plea says, "The often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of this kingdom, the good report of Gov. Endecott's government, and the increase of the colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates not formerly engaged."* Thus Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassal, John Winthrop, and eight other gentlemen of estate, intelligence, and respectability, were led to unite in an agreement, signed by them on the 29th of August, 1629, binding themselves to embark for

* Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, p. 14.

New England, "to inhabit and continue there," provided that "the whole government, together with the patents, shall be legally transferred and established, to remain" with them and others who shall inhabit said plantation.* Such an undertaking must have required consideration and consultation for some time previous. The negotiations connected with it could not have been secret, and they must have been made known to Governor Endecott in the first months of his official power, and he must have seen, that it was not likely that his hand could retain the sceptre which he had made worth possessing. He nobly endured this trial of his character. Though he suffered many reproaches in his active, earnest life, he was never accused of envy, jealousy, or discontent, on account of his being superseded by Mr. Winthrop. And more than this—as you will presently be reminded—in this time of uncertainty and inevitable anxiety, he entered through a difficult measure of great consequence to the character and the permanence of the Colony, and to the relief of him who should be its Governor.

At a General Court of the Company, in London, on Oct. 11, 1629, Governor Cradock "acquainted those present that the especial occasion of this Court was the election of a new Governor, Deputy and Assistants, the government being to be transferred into New England, according to the former order and resolution of the Company."† An election was then made, of John Winthrop as Governor, and John Humphrey as Deputy Governor, and 18 Assistants, including Matthew Cradock and John Endecott. As a mere outline of the official service of the first rulers of Massachusetts cannot be truly presented, if the Patent and its transfer be

* Hutchinson's Papers, pp. 93-94. † *Archæologia Americana*, III., 61-62.

left out of view, I will ask your patience for a brief consideration of them.

On these important subjects our modern histories give large and able discussions, with opposite conclusions. James Grahame, LL.D., in his interesting and favorable picture of all things affecting the character of America, offers as "the only rational solution of the doubts and difficulties" that arise in relation to the transfer of the Patent and the religious independence of the Colony, the hypothesis that "the King was exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in subduing the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the churches in England, they should have permission to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion."* As a lawyer, learned in the accepted principles of his own day, Mr. Grahame could not tolerate a transfer of the charter by the Company; but he might have looked above royal favor, to the Providential order of affairs and events in England, which gave to the Colonists opportunity, encouragement and strength, for peaceable changes in government and religion, that the boldest revolutionist would not have dared to attempt; and our copious and brilliant historian, George Bancroft, LL.D., with equal confidence, and the support of one of the ablest jurists of our country, Justice Joseph Story, maintains that the charter was "far from conceding to the Patentees the privilege of freedom of

* Grahame's *United States*. I., 258-9.

worship ; not a line alludes to such a purpose. The omission of an express guarantee left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected.”* An opinion of Justice Story, that the propriety of the vote to transfer the government and patent, “in a judicial point of view cannot be sustained,” seems not to have been adopted by Mr. Bancroft. He says, the vote was simply a decision of the question, where the future meetings of the Company should be held. “The Corporation migrated. They could call a legal meeting at London, or on board ship in an English harbor ; and why not in the port of Salem, as well as in the Isle of Wight ; in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goff, in London ?” “Whatever may be thought of the legality of the decision, it gave to Massachusetts a present government.” This decision was no rash and unconsidered act. Mr. Bancroft mentions that the transfer was made “after serious debate,” and an adjourned session, and the action of “a committee raised to take advice of learned counsel, whether the same could be legally done or no.” This occurred in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when there was no lack of legal acuteness. It is the deliberate conclusion of Mr. Haven,† from which I think few will dissent after investigation, that the proceedings of the Colonists were “open and notorious, and sanctioned by the acquiescence of the British government.” The cotemporary history abundantly shows the correctness of the opinion of Dr. Palfrey‡ and Mr. Haven,§ that “a political purpose,” or in

* Bancroft's *United States*, I., 372, 383. Religious uniformity fared no better.

† *Archæologia Americana*, III., 50.

‡ Palfrey's *New England*, I, 308, also quoting Mr. Burke for the same opinion.

§ *History of Grants under the Great Council for New England*, p. 25.

the words of Dr. Palfrey, "a probable purpose of a renovated England in America was entertained by the Puritan leaders, in view of the clouds that were gathering over their political prospects at home." "Those were not the times for such men as the Massachusetts patentees to ask what the King wished or expected, but rather how much freedom could be maintained against him, by the letter of the law and other righteous means." Yet they were careful not to impair their strength, by losing the approbation and good will of the government and people of England.*

Before Governor Winthrop had passed two years in giving organization and efficiency to his government, it became necessary to defend the charter and its privileges with an earnest struggle. The first foes were unwilling members of his own household, whose worthless settlements had been absorbed by the growing colony. Hubbard writes that "Sir Christopher Gardner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliff, having been punished there for their misdemeanors—being set on, as was affirmed, by Sir Fernando Gorges, Capt. Mason and others, in 1632, complained and petitioned against the Colonial Government."† A full hearing was had by the King's council and reported to the King. The result

* At a later period, the Earl of Clarendon, in framing his plan for the government of the colonies by commissioners, remarked that "they were already hardened into republics." That Charles II. imputed much of this hardening to the agency of Gov. Endecott, is apparent in a letter to Massachusetts Colony, written by Secretary Morice in behalf of the King, dated Feb. 25, 1665; which concludes by stating that "his Majesty has too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected to his Majesty's person or his government. His Majesty will take it very well, if, at the next election, any other person of good reputation be chosen in his place." Before the next election Gov. Endecott died, but his successors were selected in view of the continuance of his policy.—Moore's *Governors*, 360; Hutchinson's *Papers*, 392.

† Hubbard's *New England*, 153. Neal's *Puritans*.

was, that the King "said he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his Governor and Plantation, and that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement, being assured by some of the Council, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them, for it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to them."⁶ This gracious encouragement may have been falsely reported, and at best it must be considered to be of little value. But the fact remains that, at this period of immaturity and weakness, these powerful enemies did not direct their attack against the charter or its transfer.

In 1636 or 1637, a writ of Quo Warranto was brought against the Company by Sir John Banks, Attorney General, which sets forth that the members of "said Company in New England, for three years last past and more, used in London and other places, as also in several parts beyond the seas, out of this kingdom of England, without any warrant or royal grant, the liberties, privileges and franchises following," &c. &c. And in the specifications it is not alleged that the action of the Company is more unwarranted beyond the seas than in England. And in 1684 "the exemplification of the judgment" by which the charter was vacated, specifies three causes, levying taxes, coining money, and administering oaths of allegiance to the colony; and does not name the transfer of the charter as one of the causes.⁷ In the long interval between the bringing a writ of Quo Warranto, in 1637, to the judgment in 1684, "the clouds gathering over the politics of Puritanism" to which Dr. Palmy alludes, were a blessing of

⁶ No witness has come forward of this incident.

⁷ Hutchinson's Papers, B. 1. ; Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2d ser., II., 246.

Providence to protect and nourish the growth of political independence and freedom from the Church of England (with a tendency to larger liberty) in the Colonies, which would have been trampled out, if the career of the English monarchy had been prosperous.

In the absence of letters and records relating to the action of Mr. Endecott as Agent and as Governor, I can offer but a brief account of it, under three heads. First, he could do nothing better than to draw together the eight or ten little heterogeneous settlements in the Bay, and teach them that it was their interest to be united. This must be done with meekness of wisdom, without a display of authority that might create alarm, and therefore it was less exposed to historical notice. I can specify no measure for this object but an exploration of the country west, mentioned by Governor Hutchinson.* I do not perceive that any work of this sort required the attention of Governor Winthrop. Second, the statement of the Planter's Plea, and other histories, that the good report of Captain Endecott's government and the increase of the colony induced a larger number of good men to come over, is evidence of the greatest weight and significance. Third, the expulsion of Messrs. John Brown and Samuel Brown from the Colony, in August, 1629, proves that he acted as a legal and a wise governor. The full account of this incident is found only in Nathaniel Morton's Memorial, (chiefly of Plymouth), though it is confirmed by the records and documents of Massachusetts. Mr. Morton wrote from information received from his uncle, Governor William Bradford of Plymouth,† and from manuscripts left

* Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, I., p. 17. † Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 147-8.

in his study. John Brown and Samuel Brown were men of respected character and great social influence, and after this time they were members of Parliament. They came over at the same time as the charter, and they are named among the five persons authorized to administer the oath of office to Governor Endecott, and they were members of his council.* They resided in Salem, where they, and other passengers recently arrived, observing that the Book of Common Prayer and the ceremonies of the English Church were not used, began to raise some trouble. They gathered a company together, in a place distant from the public assembly, and there the Book of Common Prayer was used. "The Governor, Mr. Endecott, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow among the people by this means, he convened the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers, as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they would be Separatists and Anabaptists, &c., but for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers answered for themselves; they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; they did not separate from the Church of England, but only from the corruption and disorders there; and that they came away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and, therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL and the generality of the people did

* An honorary introduction of them by the London Company to Gov. Endecott, is added to the "Instructions," which are the frame of the new government. These circumstances are mentioned to show the position and power of the two brothers.

well approve of the ministers' answer; and, therefore, finding these two brothers to be of high spirits and *their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction*, the Governor told them that New England was no place for such as they; and, therefore, sent them both back for England at the return of the ships the same year. And though they breathed out threatenings both against the Governor and ministers there, the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.* "On the 16th of October, 1629, Mr. Cradock, Governor of the Company in London, and the members of his Council, including Mr. Winthrop, addressed and individually signed separate letters to the two ministers, Messrs. Skelton and Higginson, and to Governor Endecott, in relation to the rumors of scandalous and intemperate speeches by the ministers, and of rash innovations in civil and ecclesiastical government, circulated by the Messrs. Brown, who had recently arrived. The letter to the ministers expresses a strong hope that the accusations are untrue, and urges them to clear themselves or expect that order will be taken "for the redress thereof." To Governor Endecott they write that "we do well consider that the Browns are likely to make the worst of anything they have observed in New England, by reason of your sending them back against their wills for their offensive behavior, expressed in a *general letter* from the company there.† Yet for that we likewise do consider that you are in a government newly founded and want that assistance which the weight of such a business doth require, we may have

* Morton's N. E. Memorial, p. 147. et. seq.

† Archæologia Americana, III. pp. 53-54. This *general letter*, probably from Endecott's Council, has not been found.

leave to think it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put on execution, which may have ill construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary. Let it, therefore, seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here, to which, as we ought, we must and will have an obsequious eye." And then follows a vague requirement, that if he knows any thing "to detract from God's glory or his majesty's honor that hath been spoken or done by the ministers or any others," he should "send due process" against the offenders, that we may, as our duty binds us, use means to have them duly punished." The object of this last passage, and of the letters generally, was to ward off, by the offer of prompt justice the ill will and hostility against the Colony which the Browns would soon stir up in the English government and people. These letters throw strong light on the standing of Endecott's government, not only by the expressions of respect and confidence, but still more by the absence of any intimation that this proceeding was not legal and authorized by the official "Instructions" which were a part of his appointment. The words are, "if any persons prove incorrigible, and will not be reclaimed by gentle correction, ship such persons home by the Lion's Whelp rather than keep [them] there to infect or be an occasion of scandal unto others; we being persuaded that if one or two be so reshipped back and *certificates* sent home of their misdemeanor, it will be a terror to the rest, and a means to reduce them to good conformity."* The letters give no hint of a power or disposition to

*The "general letter" mentioned on page 133, was the "certificate" required.

overrule Governor Endecott's proceedings. In Chalmers's political Annals, page 146, we read "when the persons had arrived in England, they who had been thus expelled naturally appealed to the Governor and Company for reparation of their wrongs, but it appears not from their Records, that they received any redress. The insolence of contempt was added to the injustice of power." It does appear from the Records of Sept. 19, 1629, that arbitrators to settle this claim were agreed on by the Browns and the Company, and Mr. Winthrop was one of them. And they were ordered to "determine and end the business on the first Tuesday of next term."* If this settlement had been made, it would have been a proper subject of the lost Colony records and not of the records of the Company. If the settlement had not been made, the complaints of the Browns would not have ceased to appear in history. I regret that I could not present more briefly a historical incident that deserves full consideration for its legal character and its momentous consequences. It has been sufficiently apparent that the expulsion was not a spasmodic act of tyranny, but a regular authorized action of a Government legally established. As to the consequences, the question was presented whether the church of the conformists, established by these gentlemen with so much promise at Salem, and supported by the favor, wealth and power of its friends in England, should be permitted to disturb and overturn the place of refuge, which the Puritans had begun to prepare for themselves. If Governor Endecott and his Council and Colonists did not remember, Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster and the men of Plymouth, with whom they were

* *Archæologia Americana*, III.. p. 50.

Winthrop deserves particular notice. The unostentatious and unobserved relinquishment of office by Endecott seems to me to be a high-minded act that has not received the praise which it deserves. That it is not an easy performance in modern days is proved by unhappy examples of most eminent statesmen. But Governor Endecott betrayed no envy or disappointment. And I have not found any evidence of censure or disrespect at any time between these most prominent founders of Massachusetts. Mr. Endecott cordially welcomed Governor Winthrop on his arrival at Naumkeag, on June 12, 1630.* Governor Winthrop writes in his Journal, "Mr. Endecott came to us with Mr. Skelton (the pastor), and Capt. Lovett. We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our Captain returned with them to Naumkeag, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer." Another demonstration of good will is indicated in the entry of August 18, 1630: "Capt. Endecott and ——— Gibson were married by the Governor and Mr. Wilson." That this friendly intercourse, so promptly begun, was continued during the life of Governor Winthrop, is proved by many letters from Endecott to Winthrop. They are expressed in the dignified confidence of friendship, with assurances of warm affection, and with kind messages to Mrs. Winthrop. Though I can find no replies to these letters, it cannot be doubted that they existed. It would have been impossible that such expressions of personal regard should have been so repeated by such a man as Endecott, unless they were reciprocated. That the remaining letters of so good a scholar and so ready a writer as Governor Winthrop are so few, and the letters

* Winthrop's New England, I., p. 80.

addresses are very numerous, must be imputed to the methodical habits of the Governor, and the carelessness of his correspondents. To show the character of Mr. Endocott's letters to his friend, I will offer two brief extracts. He writes under date of 2d of 12th month, 1639, on occasion of Governor Winthrop's loss, by misconduct of his bailiff in England, "If I should say I do not heartily and truly love you and yours, I should not satisfy myself; I am thinking of myself in the exercise of grace; that as you have time, when you come over he will make you beneficial exemplary, cheerful under great wisdom and patience." Another letter, dated March 5th, 1640, three weeks before Governor Winthrop's death, has this passage: "Good sir, let us labor to love [one] another, and harbor the best thoughts of one another. We have not long to live here in this life, yet we shall remain as long as our appointed times are set," and let us "labor for cheerfulness of spirit. You know who hath commanded it."*

The character of Capt. Endocott is beautifully transparent, in a letter addressed by him to Governor Winthrop, April 12, 1631, near the end of Winthrop's first year; after stating the cause of his non-attendance at a court as one of the assistants, and other things, he says: "Sir, I desired the rather to have been at Court, because I hear I am much complained on by Goodman Dexter for striking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in striking him, understanding

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., VI., 136 and 150.

since that it is not lawful for a Justice of the Peace to strike. But if you had seen the manner of his carriage, with such daring of me, with his arms on kimbo, &c. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write no more of it, but leave it till we speak before you face to face. Only thus far further, that he hath given out, *if I had a purse* he would make me empty it; and if he cannot have justice here he will do wonders in England; and if he cannot prevail there he will try it out with me here at blows. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it at blows, and he a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain. But I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course;" and the letter, after proposing "dismissing the Court," on account of planting season, concludes in these words: "I will be with you, the Lord assisting me, as soon as conveniently I can. In the meanwhile, I commit you to his protection and safeguard, that never fails his children, and rest, your unfeigned, loving friend to command."* On the trial, the jury found Capt. Endecott guilty, and assessed the damages at forty shillings (40 s.).

Governor Winthrop, prompted by his sense of honor, does not record, in his admirable journal, this misfortune of his friend, nor any scandal of the time. Mr. Savage mentions the case briefly in a note, and says "the verdict was £10 damages." This mistake must have been occasioned by a careless inspection of the original Colonial record, which, on examination, is found to justify the 40 s. of the printed volume. The correction of this error is important, because so large an amount as ten pounds would indicate a gross outrage.

* Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, 50.

This Court was held May 3, 1631. On the preceding 30th of November, Sir Richard Saltonstall, whose name is always mentioned as the first in a list of assistants, was fined £5 "for whipping two several persons without the presence of another assistant." It was a frequent practice that members of the government should honor the laws by submitting to the penalties. Such proceedings would tend to promote a respect for law and order among our fathers which their children sometimes boast that they have inherited. Each of these two defendants sat as assistant in the court at the session when he was punished. On other occasions he was subjected to slight public censure, when he expressed too strongly by words and acts, the opinions that other leading men held in secret. With such a mind and temper, through his long life he retained a large share of the confidence and respect of his peculiar people; and his cordial friendship with that native nobleman, Governor Winthrop, was interrupted only by death. On November 19, 1632, a little more than *two years* after the active administration of Governor Winthrop began, Capt. Thomas Wiggin wrote to Sir John Coke, Under-Secretary, that "the English in New England, numbering about two thousand, and generally most industrious, have done more in *three years* than others in seven times that space, at one tenth of the expense." * Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, says after the death of Thomas Dudley, (1653), "the notice and respect of the Colony fell chiefly on John Endecott, who, after many services done for the colony, even before it was a Colony, as well as when he saw it grow into a populous nation under his prudent and equal government, expired in a good old

* Malmesbury's Calendar, 166.

age." And Hubbard seems to claim that his influence lived after him, by saying that after the death of Mr. Endecott (March 23, 1665,) "Mr. Bellingham was elected till his death by the general consent of the freemen, who, apprehending the danger of some change, resolutely fixed their choice upon such persons, as they judged most likely to maintain the government in that same state, wherein it hath been heretofore, without the least alteration or change."

Governor Endecott accepted with confidence, and maintained the doctrines and practices of the Puritans. Governor Hutchinson speaks of him as "among the most zealous undertakers and most rigid in principles." But a modern notion, that he was more bigoted and severe than the other leading men of his time, is not supported by history. He is not fairly treated, when he is selected for the contempt of posterity, because he acted with Deputy Governor Dudley, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and the other magistrates, in signing a paper which sets forth that "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the Godly of our nation until within these few years, we, the magistrates who have subscribed this paper, (for the showing of our *own innocency* in this behalf), do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do deform themselves and offend sober and modest men." "We do, therefore, earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction" to manifest their zeal against it, "and to take care that the members of their respective churches be

not defiled therewith," &c.* Governor Hutchinson, who preserves this document in his history, calls this movement "an association against long hair." As this paper, which is dated 3d month, 10th day, 1649, is said to be taken from "Harvard College records," it gives occasion for the conjecture that it was prepared to have a good influence on the college. The graceful locks, that relieve the hard outline of the philosophical cap of the Governor, show that he had no personal dislike of the ornament of hair. He is also reproached for aiding Roger Williams in requiring women to wear veils at church.† This was resisted successfully by the women, with the aid of Rev. Mr. Cotton. Governor Endecott showed a better spirit in his desire to save Mary Dyer, the Quaker or Antinomian, from a capital sentence, when he did violence to his own conscience by suggesting to her the denial of her identity and putting her accusers to the proof.‡ But she was too brave to adopt this defence, or to accept her life on condition that she would leave the colony.

It is necessary to speak as briefly as I can of the agency of Governor Endecott in the persecution for religious opinions. This persecution has been described as a black cloud on the character of the colonists, resting with its most baleful shade on Endecott, who officially represented the opinions, which he shared with the majority, including many of the wisest and best of the people, and which it was his duty to enforce by legal sanction. While no man can defend those cruel acts, no just man will overlook the extenuating

* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, 1, 142. President Quincy and Mr. Benjamin Peirce in their histories of the college, take no notice of this paper.

† Moore's Governors, 352.

‡ Sewell's History of Quakers, 1, 394.

circumstances under which those acts were done. The provocations were great. The colonists had come to the wilderness as a place of refuge, where they might enjoy their religious opinions and practices, without the disgrace and violence which they suffered in England. Before they were strong in union and a common interest, Anabaptists, Antinomians and Quakers came among them, in spite of prohibitions, with no apparent purpose but to stir up opposition and strife. The Quakers, who were the most numerous, were not such cheerful, peaceable, thrifty and independent christian philosophers, as those who are now called by the same name. They and the other foes to the peace of the Puritans, were bold, aggressive disturbers of private society and public assemblies, and hostile to the influence of christian teachers and the authority of civil rulers. Among them were fierce railers, having no respect for decency, who created an odium against others of more gentle mood, associated with them in some of their opinions. Thus the amiable and misguided, under the influence of a mania for martyrdom, in the confusion of the times, were made conspicuous victims. In these things the Puritans were not sinners above their contemporaries. The two folios of Besse's "Collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers," give accounts of this inhumanity in Virginia and in the American islands, in England, Germany, and other parts of Europe, and in Asia. It was a time when private and public discipline was rude and painful. Punishments, for ecclesiastical and political offences by barbarous wounds on the person were frequent and were not followed by dishonor. William Prynne, the learned lawyer and antiquary, and indomitable Puritan, was sentenced, for writing against the church and

churchmen, to pay a large fine, to be degraded from his profession, and to stand in the pillory in two different places, and to have one ear cut off in each place, and his nose slit and his forehead branded, and to be perpetually imprisoned.* This sentence was rigorously executed in 1634.† He repeated the offence and was again punished in 1637 by the pillory, by marks on his cheeks, and by the loss of the remainder of his ears. In 1640 he was a member of Parliament and took the lead in the impeachment of Archbishop Laud.

The "civil sword" was not a proper weapon of truth and righteousness for common use. Besse remarks that "the edge of these old laws was now turned upon the Quakers, while the laws, against whom they were originally made, were little tested."‡ The same author gives the names of twenty-five men and women in England, who, as Quakers, between 1650 and 1660, died in prison and in consequence of abuses. In the list for New England, in the same period, I do not find that any Quakers lost their lives for their opinions, but the four who were tried and executed according to the law. It is a sad and surprising evidence of the weakness of humanity, that the Puritans, honest and earnest men, could have the Bible constantly and reverently in their memories and on their lips, without obeying its lessons of kindness and forbearance. And the example and precept of the neighboring

* *Biographie Generale.*

† *Pictorial Hist. of England*, 3, 155, 166. Immediately after, he wrote a "stinging letter" to Laud, and was again brought to the Star Chamber, where, after conviction, according to Laud's account, he mercifully forgave him.

‡ *Besse's History.*

Colony of Rhode Island were also disregarded. The government of that Colony replied to the request of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, that Rhode Island should concur in the exclusion of the Quakers, by a letter distinguished for its fraternal spirit, its sagacity, and its independence. After cordial expressions of respect and good will, the letter goes on thus: "And as concerning these Quakers (so-called), which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for declaring by words their minds and understanding concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition; and we moreover find, that in those places where these people in this Colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come. And we are told they begin to loath this, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority," &c. "Yet we conceive that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting down and overturning civil government among men, if generally received."* Hubbard, a contemporary, in his notice of the continuance of this error in Massachusetts, in the imprisonment and disfranchisement of Baptists, says, "by this severity it was expected that they should have been restrained, but it proved otherwise. The bent of all men's nature makes it true, '*nitimur in vetitum*,' (Ovid), and like waters that are pent up, they swell more and more."†

With a readiness to admit all that is proved against our respected ancestors, it is proper to repel any exaggerations in an indictment by posterity. The painful details that have come down to form the more common opinion of our day, are derived chiefly from two books: one is the "History of the

* Moore's *Governors*, 161.

† Hubbard's *New England*, 591.

rise &c. Christian people called Quakers," written by William Sewall, a native of Holland, in the language of that country, and translated by him and published at London, in 1722; the other book is Joseph Besse's "Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers," published at London, in 1753. As it is known that many of the banished disturbers of the Colonists went to Holland and England, when the sense of their guilt was fresh, there is no cause for wonder, that these books, written in such a cruel language and containing such gross calumnies, made improbable by the facts of their lives, in opposition to contemporary accounts, and by the character of Governor Winthrop,* almost entirely discredited his conscience, and General Cudworth as "a holy and honest man." Cudworth was strongly opposed to the persecution; and it would be easy to cite many such commendations. In answer to the allegation of Besse, that "John Endecott was a principal promoter of the persecution," instances of his forbearance and desire to avoid punishment, might be adduced. His defence of the treatment of the Quakers, in his letter to the King, shows the cautious and conscientious spirit in which the supposed path of duty was followed.† Governor Hutchinson mentions that the Quakers gave "rude and contemptuous answers" at an examination that was had to allow them to explain themselves. And afterward one of them, Mary Prince, "railed at and reviled" the Governor from a window, and wrote a letter to the Governor and magistrates, "filled with opprobrious stuff." Yet "the Governor

* Winthrop's New England, 1, 158.
Papers, p. 194.

† Sainsbury's Calendar of Col. State
Hutchinson's Papers, 325.

sent for her twice from the prison to his house and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present and with much moderation and tenderness endeavored to convince her of her errors; to which she returned the grossest railings.”*

When history takes her place among the Muses and wields the witchery of imagination and passion, she gains a power over the opinions and memory of men, that she cannot have with the dry annals of truth. It is a glorious privilege, “when it moves in charity and turns on the poles of truth.” But the license of a poet gives him no right

“To point a moral or adorn a tale,”

by the traditions of party strife, which are not supported by better authorities. Governor Endecott has now, in the minds of some people of the best education, not the character that Governor Winthrop and Morton and Hubbard and other contemporaries have awarded to him, but the cold and cruel image, in which our two most admired poets have represented him. In the *New England Tragedy*, entitled “John Endecott,” Mr. Longfellow has made so prominent the gloomy characteristics imputed to the Governor in Sewell’s *History*, that few will remember that the poet also says:

“He is a man, both loving and severe;
A tender heart: a will inflexible.
None ever loved him more than I have loved him.
He is an upright man and a just man
In all things, save the treatment of the Quakers.”

And these friendly words are turned to gall by this response, put into the mouth of the Governor’s son:

“Yet I have found him cruel and unjust,
Even as a Father.”

* Hutchinson’s *Massachusetts*, I. 181.

After search and inquiry I can discover no evidence that the disposition of Governor Endecott towards his children was different from the affection which he manifested for his friends.

The wrongs of the Quakers is a theme acceptable to Mr. Whittier, not only on account of his brotherhood in the sect, but more so, because he has a brother's love for all, who suffer and are strong. A sweet and pathetic poem entitled, "Cassandra Sout," shows his sympathy for the oppressed seems to have led him not to forget, that justice is due even to the agents of sin. His account of an attempt to sell Cassandra Sout, to be carried out of the country, into Slavery, as when practised, is thus introduced :

"And on his horse, with Rawson clerk, at hand,
Rode dark and haughty Endecott, ler of the land,"
"And poisoning with his evil words, uler's ready ear,
The Priest leaned o'er his saddle with laugh and scoff and jeer."

We have seen that there were many occasions when the interest of the Colony and a sense of duty would compel Governor Endecott to be grave and stern. But he would not have retained, as he did through his long life, the respect and confidence of his people, if he had been a dark demon, with clergymen for counsellors, who were mocking fiends. The Priest alluded to by the poet, must have been either John Norton or John Wilson. There is a general assent to the testimony of Hubbard that Norton was "a man of great worth and learning, one that had the tongue of the learned, to speak a word in season to the weary soul."* And Nathaniel Morton, a contemporary, says: "John Wilson

* Hubbard's New England, p. 640.

was charitable when there were any signs or hopes of good, and yet withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. Very few, that ever went out of this world, were so generally beloved and revered, as this good man.”*

It will appear that the poetry of passion may be a more impartial witness than the poetry of imagination. Besse gives a long and eloquent letter to Governor Endecott, dated in 1660, from John Smith, of Salem, justly denouncing the cruel treatment of his wife. After an exciting detail of wanton barbarities and false and scandalous accusations against his beloved wife, Mr. Smith adds: “Oh my spirit is grieved for thee, because the love I did ever see in thee is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a spirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedness to thy poor neighbors, which thou hast formerly been much beholden to and helped by, when thou hadst no bread to eat. But now, since thou camest to Boston and left Salem, thou art become much more proud. O, consider of those times and forget them not; and of the love thou didst find among poor people in thy necessity, and how evil thou hast dealt and requited some of them now; and how thou didst walk and act contrary to what thou didst formerly profess; yea, I have heard thee say that ‘*all the armies on earth cannot subdue one lust in man or woman.*’ And now thou pronounceth sentence of death upon some, because they cannot submit to your wills and worship as you do.” Then follows a passage of neighborly gossip about not returning “what was borrowed,” failing to pay poor men for their work, disorders in the Governor’s family, “sitting up late at night,” the “servants very vain

* Morton’s Memorial, 327.

and some of them wicked," &c., and his "children being disobedient to their parents and living loosely in the time of their youth." And the letter concludes, "thy next neighbor in time past, and then serviceable to thee in many things, and it is like somewhat beloved by thee, but now it is otherwise, as appears by thy hard dealing to my beloved wife. This I am constrained to write to thee in love and tenderness."* This earnest and indignant letter must be considered high authority on the question of the temper and disposition of Governor Endecott, because Mr. Smith† had opportunity to know him well and in all this array of accusations and imputations so industriously brought together, there is no charge or intimation of a want of love or kindness, towards his children even when they were disobedient, or towards his servants, even when they were disorderly, or towards any other person, except in the exercise of official power.

There are several indications that Governor Endecott was not one of the rich men of his time. A subscription paper in aid of building the first town hall in Boston, dated 1656, has his name at the head, with a gift of £2 10s. Subscriptions for £10 were made by Deputy Governor Bellingham and a few other persons, and other sums were smaller.‡ The influence of Governor Endecott was not founded on the use of wealth. He was led by his sense of duty and his devotion to the Colony, and by his taste, to give his attention

* Besse's History, Vol. II. 203.

† John Smith was one who would speak out his whole mind. If, as is probable, he is the man who in 1660, at the ordination of John Higginson, disturbed the proceedings and cried out, "what you are about to set up, our God is pulling down." For this he was committed to prison by order of the court. —Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I. 187.

‡ Proceedings for corner stone of Boston City Hall in 1862.

chiefly to public affairs. The company in England, according to the record of March 2d, 1629, "propounded" to employ John Malbon, a man "having skill in iron works," to go to New England at their expense, and to return and report what could be done there in that business.* He performed the service. As this occurred when the company relied on information and advice from Capt. Endecott, he should have some credit for this attempt to develop the resources of the country. He also showed that he valued and desired to increase the strength and independence of the colony, in his letter of December 1, 1643, to Governor Winthrop, in which he says, "I want much to hear of your son's iron and steel. If the country will not be encouraged by so useful a design, to enlarge themselves for the advantage of it, I know not what will."† And whenever the chartered or assumed rights of the Colony were threatened by the Crown, or the church, he was roused in defence, with the watchful jealousy of a mother.

Two acts of Governor Endecott, which have often been mentioned to the prejudice of his character for generosity and common sense, should receive such a true representation, as the imperfect records enable one briefly to give. 1, Governor Endecott arrived at Naumkeag, afterwards called Salem, on September 6th, 1628. In the same year he visited Mount Wallaston or Merry Mount, the site of the town of Quincy, and "rebuked the inhabitants for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better."‡ "In the purifying spirit of authority," he cut down the May pole, on which Thomas Morton, the

* *Archæologia Americana*, III. 14.

† *Hutchinson Papers*. 135.

‡ *Winthrop's New England*, I. 34.

leader of these disturbers, had been accustomed to publish his witty and injurious slanders of the Puritans, while his followers danced and played about it in the carousals for which the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians furnished the supplies. Before Endecott came, Merry Mount had become so intolerable for this dangerous arming and stirring up the Indians, for obstruction of their conversion to Christianity, and for opposition and provocation of the Puritans, that eight plantations obtained and paid for the aid of gallant Capt. Standish, who expelled Thomas Morton and diminished the mischief. It cannot be doubted that the new agent would be urged to finish the work. The May pole was cut down because it was a token of opposition and an instrument of mischief, and not because it was used for pleasure, and its removal was an impressive moral lesson. As the histories do not mention the continuance of trouble at Merry Mount, the visit of Capt. Endecott has a claim to be considered wise and successful.

2, *The agency of Capt. Endecott in cutting out the cross from the English flag has been imputed to his own bigotry.* In September, 1634, general alarm was excited by news from England that the persecution of the Puritans by Archbishop Laud was increasing in severity. It is a modern discovery that Laud was liberal and tolerant. It was also stated that a commission had been granted to the two Archbishops and others of the King's Council, with authority to establish the Episcopal church, to recall the charter, to remove the Governors, and make the laws of New England. Cradock, Governor of the company, had already sent the information that the King had demanded the charter.* Under

* New England Gener. Register, I 216. Hubbard's New England, 164. New England Memorial, 137. Hutchinson's Massachusetts.

the delirium of a panic, the Colonial Court discussed the propriety of disusing the flag, on account of the cross, which was regarded as a relic of popish idolatry, and opinions were divided. Capt. Endecott, who was more quick to feel and to act than his associates, cut the cross from the flag. The sword, which is said to have been the instrument of this bold act of rebellion, is preserved as one of the most precious of the heirlooms of his family. At the next meeting of the Court he was summoned to answer for the offence, but "because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred." And the commissioners for military affairs, of whom Endecott was a leading member, gave order, in the meantime, that "all the ensigns should be laid aside." In 1635 a committee reported to the Court that the offence of Mr. Endecott was "great, rash and without discretion—giving occasion to the State of England to think ill of us," &c., &c., without the slightest intimation of its treasonable character, and "they adjudged him worthy of admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office." Mr. Winthrop, not then Governor, and a majority of the Magistrates, did not differ from the opinions of Capt. Endecott, though they united to censure him for the bold and dangerous act, that led them to a more public expression of their own opinions.* In 1636 Governor Winthrop speaks of Governor Vane's permission to spread the King's colors at the fort, and adds, "this was done with this protestation, that we hold the cross in the ensign idolatrous." May we not conjecture that it was the flag, the symbol of foreign

* Winthrop's New England, I. 159.

power, more than the cross, that provoked the attack of Mr. Endecott, while his portraits are perpetual witnesses that with the carefulness of a crusader, he always wore the sacred emblem conspicuously marked in the form of his beard.

Though this slight sketch does no justice to the merits and claims of its subject, I venture to offer it as a wreath of memorial leaves, hastily gathered by an unpractised hand, to be laid, in reverence and gratitude, before this worthy image of one of the founders of our nation.

In your enjoyment of the gift, you will desire to remember the giver, who in one act gratifies his feelings of filial regard and fulfills most acceptably his duty, as a member of this Society. I therefore offer for your adoption the following resolutions :

Resolved, that the warmest thanks of this Society are presented to our associate, Hon. William C. Endicott, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, for his most desirable gift of an accurate copy of a beautiful portrait possessed by his family, of his great and good ancestor, John Endecott, the first Governor in Massachusetts Bay.

Resolved, that a copy of the above resolution shall be presented to Judge Endicott by the Recording Secretary.

No 62.

PROCEEDINGS

Volume 62
OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 29, 1874.



WORCESTER.
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE
1874



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 20, 1874.



WORCESTER.
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1874.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT A SPECIAL MEETING	5
PROCEEDINGS AT THE SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING	6
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	29
DONORS AND DONATIONS	46
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	56
“THE GREAT AWAKENING”	59

PROCEEDINGS.

SPECIAL MEETING.

PROCEEDINGS at a Special Meeting, convened by direction of the President, at the Society's Hall, in Worcester, March 14th, 1874, in reference to the death of Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

The President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the Chair.

The Recording Secretary, Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, being absent, WILLIAM A. SMITH was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

Mr. SALISBURY stated the object of the meeting, and submitted the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, on motion of NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.,—the delegation having been filled at the suggestion of JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D.

Whereas The members of the American Antiquarian Society are now hastily convened to take notice of the sudden death of their distinguished associate and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D., in view of the opportunity of manifesting respect, personal regard, and deep sorrow for their loss, by attendance at his funeral, in Boston, on Monday, March 16th, 1874.

Resolved, That this meeting, in which so many members of the Society cannot take part, is not suited for a full expression of our sense of the merits of Mr. SUMNER, as a statesman, far-seeing,

vigilant and incorruptible ; as a philanthropist, generous and successful ; as a scholar, full of good fruits ; as an orator, powerful, persuasive and pleasing, and as he was to this Society, delightful in his association, faithful in his service, and valuable in the promise of future advantage which this sad event has defeated ;

Resolved, That the attempt of a just commemoration of Mr. SUMNER shall be deferred to the stated meeting of the Society, which will soon be held.

Resolved, That a delegation to attend the funeral of Mr. SUMNER shall consist of Messrs. STEPHEN SALISBURY, ISAAC DAVIS, SAMUEL F. HAVEN, and such other members as may conveniently attend.

The meeting then dissolved.

WM. A. SMITH,

Recording Secretary, pro tem.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT THE HALL OF THE AMERICAN
ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON, APRIL 29, 1874.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the Records of the Annual Meeting, and the Special Meeting, held March 14th, 1874, which were approved.

Dr. JOSEPH SARGENT read the Report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual Reports.

All the above were adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., expressed his pleasure in listening to the Reports, and spoke of some of the characteristics of Cotton Mather. In the views Mr. HAVEN had expressed with regard to the treatment of witchcraft by the New England authorities, Mr. THORNTON concurred. Laws denouncing it are on the statute books of some of the Southern States to this day. He spoke also of a medical treatise by Sir Kenelm Digby, which showed as great a degree of ignorance as to the true causes and the proper treatment of diseases as was displayed by Mather in the work which had been the subject of the report of the Council.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., thought Mr. HAVEN had dealt wisely with the memory of Mather. Men were not to be harshly judged on the strength of their own records of self-examination, and communings with and confessions to their God. Much of the severe judgment of the Mathers by the people of to-day was based on such records and confessions as these. Still he felt that in the comparison Cotton Mather fell far below Increase in the sterling qualities which should command the respect of posterity. Probably, not much could be done to help the memory of Cotton Mather. The just biographer must concede that he was a man of great conceit, and much selfish sentiment. But Increase had higher and nobler qualities than Cotton, and this must not be forgotten in making up our estimate of these two men.

With reference to Cotton Mather's medical pretensions, Dr. ELLIS said that the diary of his life does not show that

he ever practised medicine at all, as did so many of the clergymen of that day. The Report of the Council showed how little claim he really had to a knowledge of the origin and treatment of disease.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., alluded to the disposition to attribute to Cotton Mather too prominent a part in this matter of witchcraft. There was no reason why he should be singled out as the author of the persecutions of that day. The laws on that subject did not pertain to New England alone, nor were they originated in the colony. Our fathers found certain laws on their statute books, and they enforced them in the light of such interpretation as they could command. Mather then, was but one of an entire public, concurring in the same views, and basing their practices on well established precedents, as Mr. HAVEN has shown in his Report. The wonder is that the practise was so speedily checked. Then came a great re-action, and Sewall wrote those words in his diary which have become so familiar as an expression of keenest sorrow, at the course he had taken, under a sense of duty which was, at the time, conclusive on his actions.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., made a few brief observations of a similar purport.

Mr. DEANE proceeded to lay before the Society some papers, which, on his motion, were referred to the Committee of Publication. They related to an early map which had recently been examined, in the collection of the British Museum, a tracing of which, so far as related to the points he presented, he submitted for examination. He suggested the inquiry, whether it did not tend to show that, notwithstanding the opposite conclusions which had been reached in

the investigation of the subject by several members of the Society, Sir Francis Drake actually saw the Bay of San Francisco? Mr. DEANE said he would not occupy the time of the Society, but would leave the papers, with their suggestions, in the hands of the Committee.

Mr. HAVEN presented a paper from ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., a member of the Society, on the subject of the great religious awakening in the West, at the close of the last century. The paper, which is printed with the Proceedings, states many facts of interest with relation to the physical manifestations which accompanied that awakening, which were called "the jerks." The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. SMUCKER for his paper, and it was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. Mr. WATERSTON reported that some progress had been made towards the collection of photographic views of Indian life. He brought some specimens to the meeting, which he presented to the Society. He also took occasion to present to the members of the Society who desired to possess them, the reports of the meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, and of the memorial exercises of the Boston Society of Natural History, in honor of Prof. Agassiz.

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., presented a photo-lithographic copy of a document found at Amsterdam, written in 1628, and signed by two professors of Leyden University. It is interesting as throwing light upon the character of John Robinson. From it may be gathered evidence of Robinson's desire to heal the schism between the Brownists,

of whom he was one, and the Church of England. It goes far to show the genuine catholicity of Robinson.

The desire was expressed by the President and other members of the Society, that Dr. DEXTER would render this the occasion of an early contribution on the subject it suggests, and Mr. SALISBURY, the President, said he recognized the paper as of great historic value in its bearing on the character of Robinson and his associates.

Mr. WASHBURN, the Secretary, alluding to the papers submitted by Mr. DEANE, said that they should be carefully considered, as they refer to a subject which has been quite critically investigated by two or three members of the Society, whose conclusions have been generally accepted as correct.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN conformity with the by-laws, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society beg leave to make their Semi-annual Report.

The Reports of the Librarian and of the Treasurer, which will be presented by those officers respectively, show a gratifying increase in the collections of the Society, and a moderate increase of the funds.

Mr. HAVEN, in his Report, has added to the debt which history owes him, by relieving New England of any special stigma in the punishment of sorcery and of witchcraft, in which she only followed the statute law and the precedent of the mother country. He again calls the attention of the Society to the valuable collection of Mather manuscripts in our possession. These were presented to Mr. THOMAS, on the breaking up of the Mather library, in 1814, by Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, a grand-daughter of Cotton Mather, Mr. THOMAS having already purchased a considerable portion of the library itself. Mr. HAVEN has brought to the notice of the reporter an unpublished manuscript in this collection called the "Angel of Bethesda," a pious and medical essay of Cotton Mather, which was completed after the year 1724, when Cotton Mather was more than sixty

years of age ; as we know from its reference to events of 1724. It is not probable that this will ever be published or much read ; and it has seemed to the Council that it might be interesting to the Society to have some account of it as further illustrative of the life and learning and conversation of Cotton Mather and of his times.

With the manuscript we have also a prospectus which was drawn up by Cotton Mather with proposals for publication, and a table of contents, which is very characteristic.

The proposals read as follows, viz :

“Proposals
“for printing a Book entitled
“The Angel of Bethesda.

*“An Essay upon the common Maladies of Mankind:
“offering first the Sentiments of PIETY whereto
“the Invalids are to be awakened in & from their
“Bodily Maladies, and then a brief collection of plain
“but potent and approved REMEDIES for the
“Maladies, Accompanied with many very practica-
“ble Directions for the PRESERVATION of
“HEALTH to such as enjoy a good measure of so
“great a Blessing. And many other curious and
“grateful and useful entertainments occasionally in-
“termixed. The whole being a Family-Physician
“which every family of any capacity may find their
“Account in being supplied withal.”*

Such is the title page of this Essay, with its peculiarities of orthography and of punctuation.

The table of contents is quite as remarkable. Thus he says :

“Tho the Title of the Book thus exhibited may somewhat explain the Design and Value of it, yett for a further and fuller explanation here shall be given ye contents and some Account of what is contained in ye sixty-six capsulas into which it is divided.”

The heads of some of these chapters read as follows :

“Capsula I. Salvianus, or some Remarks of Piety on the grand cause of Sickness. II. Valerianus, or points of Health to be always attended to. III. Therapeutica sacra, &c. IV. The Tree of Life. V. Nishmath Chajim. The probable seat of all Diseases and a general cure of them further discovered. VI. The Gymnastick or an Exercitation upon Exercise. VIII. Raphael, or Notable Cures from the Invisible World. X. Cephalica, or cures for the Head-Ache and the Ague in the Head. XXXVIII. Breath struggled for, or the Asthma and Shortwindedness. XL. Medicina medicanda, A pause made upon the uncertainties of the physicians. LIII. Retired Elizabeth, A long tho’ no very hard chapter for a woman whose Travail approaches; with remedies to abate the sorrows of child-bearing. LIV. Great things done by small means, with some Remarks on a Spring of medicinal waters which every body is at home an owner of.”

And so on. And Cotton Mather adds in language which is imitated to this day, that :

“It would be too great a Reproach upon Humane Understanding to imagine that a Treatise of such Intentions and composed with such a variety of good Things both for Soul and Body, and of such universal Benefit for all sorts of people, sick or well, High or Low, old or young, would not find a general acceptance.”

Now what were the qualifications of Cotton Mather for writing any medical book whatever? Our knowledge of

his early history is very small. His son, Samuel, in the "Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. and F.R.S.," relates little but the history of his father's piety and of his erudition. He details his fastings, his self-examinations, his meditations, his pious ejaculations, and his so ordering his life, even in its minutest details, that whatever he did should be to the glory of God. He enlarges on his precocious learning, when he entered Harvard College, at the age of twelve years, and on the honors which attended his graduation at the age of sixteen; quoting with family pride the *quantum nomen* in the personal address of President Oakes, in Latin, who commends his piety, his learning, his genius, his judgment, his prudence, and his dignity of character; distinctions which impress us less when we find, in the triennial catalogue, that his class of 1678 numbered only four persons. But he gives us no information whatever as to his father's qualifications for this medical treatise.

Mr. Peabody, in Sparks's biographies, speaks of Cotton Mather's abandoning medical studies, in which he had become deeply interested, to give his attention to theology. But as he graduated at sixteen, and began to preach at eighteen years of age, his medical learning may have been only a part of his general learning, which was various and distinguished.

Besides, he had had nearly forty years of the experience which a clergyman who is pastor of a large flock has in the observation of common diseases. And, accordingly, we find that he treats mostly of these, and in no scientific manner. For there are no disquisitions on pathology and there is no account of morbid anatomy, nor of diagnosis, and no history of symptoms nor of progress. Assuming the fact of the

existence of the disease named, he first "calls up some appropriate sentiments of Piety," then applies some learning, and then directs what he calls the treatment.

We shall illustrate this better, and shall also do more justice to him and to the labor with which we have travailed through four hundred pages of obscure manuscript, which, we presume, no other person living has read, if we make a cursory review of this work. Nor can we avoid making this sometimes more professional or technical than can often be pleasant to a mixed audience.

The treatise entitled, "The Pool of Bethesda," is "contained in y^e sixty-six capsulas into which it is divided." In his capsula prima Cotton Mather makes his various pious deductions from his statement that "it was sin which first brought sickness into a sinful world, and which yet continues to sicken the world with a world of diseases"—and that "sickness is in short flagellum Dei pro peccatis mundi;" with the further consideration that while "the Soul and the Body constitute one person, the Body is unto the Soul the instrument of iniquity; hence for the Sins of the one there come sufferings on the other." "Wherefore under sickness we should make a solemn inquiry after sin." For while "self-examination is incumbent upon all men, upon sick men it is peculiarly incumbent." "Let our sickness itself be such an emetic as to make us vomit up our sin, with a penitent confession of it." "Wherefore, both under the sickness and after it we should be more concerned for being saved from sin than from sickness;" and "it should be more of a care that our sickness be removed in mercy than that it should be removed at all." And also, "the sickness that enfeebls us must make us fly more vigorously

than ever unto the expiatory sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ for the Forgiveness of our Sins." For "the sickness is utterly lost upon us if it render not a Christ more precious."

This shows us perhaps sufficiently Cotton Mather's scheme and his method. He states that the design of his essay is "the Cure of a Sinful Soul," and calls it *Psychopharmacœon*, treating the body only as the instrument of the soul and of iniquity.

Having shown us in his first chapter that sin is the cause of sickness, "*felix*," he says, "*felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*," he then devotes several chapters, which it will be recollected he calls always *capsulae*, as if they were caskets of value, to the consideration of matters of hygiene. And first, although sin is his primary cause of sickness, he avoids the dilemma of measuring spiritual health by bodily health, by saying that "**Diseases may also be Love Tokens,**" as "John the beloved was a sickly man," and "Lazarus, whom the Lord loved, was sick," and also "maladies of the body frequently prove medicines of the soul." These several chapters or *capsulae* are upon "Points of Health to be always attended to," "Famous methods for the **PROLONGATION of LIFE**," "*Therapeutica Sacra*, or The Symptoms of an Healed Soul with the methods of coming at it," "The Tree of Life," "Nishmath Chajim, the probable seat of all diseases and a general cure of them further discovered, &c."

It is not worth the while to go into much detail on these chapters. In the consideration of his "Points of Health to be always attended to," it is not in harmony with his method to say simply that we should give proper attention to food and to bodily exercise; but the "sentiments of Piety" are to

be regarded first. Thus we should look first to the "Health of the Soul;" for "the Conscience is to the Soul what the Stomach is to the Body," and "as we should avoid every thing that may be condemned by the Conscience, that it may be kept void of offence towards God and towards man," so "put nothing into the Stomach that may be offensive to it." And, again, in regard to exercise, as "the Soul should be exercised into Godliness," so "Health of the Body has no greater friend than exercise."

In the chapter on "Famous methods for the PROLONGATION of LIFE," his learning is in full flower. He quotes Cicero's words as comprising all "Rules for the Conservation of Health," "*Sustentatur valetudo notitia sui corporis, et observatione earum rerum quæ res aut prodesse soleant aut obesse, et continentia in victu omni atque cultu corporis tuendi causa, et prætermittendis voluptatibus.*" He quotes Cornaro, who lived more than a hundred years, and wrote *de vita Sobria*;* Democritus, who, at an advanced age, reported his rules as being "*intus melle, extus oleo*;" the memorable Dr. Mayson who said, "Be moderate in your diet, use much exercise and Little Physic," to which advice Cotton Mather adds, "and exercise thyself in Piety with it." He quotes Galen and Celsus, both of whom com-

* That there may be no mistake in this case of Cornaro, it is but justice to say that his sober life was the sober life of his time. He had led a very intemperate life up to the age of thirty-five years, when, by the advice of his physicians, he determined to lead a "sober and regular life;" and so for more than sixty years he sustained himself in health and comfort, on a diet of twelve ounces of solid food and fourteen ounces of wine (a little less than a pint) a day. Also, repeatedly, on leaving off the wine for a period of a few weeks, he became so feeble as to be at the point of death; but soon found himself restored on returning to the wine. The wine was probably Italian wine. —[See British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, January, 1874, p. 29.]

mend temperance and exercise; he cites Hoffman "*des moyens de vivre long-temps*," who finds nothing so considerable in this regard as temperance, tranquillity and piety; "the Fear of the Lord tendeth to Life." He cheers us with the remark that "it has been often observed that very liberal men are very long-lived men;" "and so after many days they reap the harvest of the seed-corn cast into the moist ground by their bounties," and concludes after all with the wise "Note of Dr. Morgan" that the best rule that I know for health is to observe strictly no particular rule at all, but upon the general principle of MODERATION to follow the dictates of sober nature." Eating and drinking exactly by weight and by measure he explodes as a cook pedantry, and a most ridiculous as well as pernicious regularity. "Such an economist [he says] might as well impose upon himself to stand or sit always in the same place, to ly in the same bed, wear exactly the same weight of clothes; ride or walk every day the same number of inches. Nay, he must compound with Providence for the same immutable weather too. For the changes of that require sometimes larger and sometimes lesser meals and the occasional use of stronger or weaker liquors." "Christian fill thy life with most explicit acknowledgements of the Glorious God and acts of obedience to Him." "At the same time fill thy life with good offices to mankind." "This will be living. *Caetera mortis erunt, non annis sed factis vivunt mortales.*" And "they have lived longest in the world who have done most good in the world." "Measure your Lives not by your Almanacks but by your conscience and your usefulness." "*Vita si scias uti longa est.*" Cotton Mather's hygiene, as we see, was largely moral; as his pathology was sacred.

This is perhaps sufficient to show the general method of the book. And now having thus gone over what may be considered common ground, Cotton Mather enters upon the particular fields of his work. His first chapter, here, is of "Therapeutica Sacra, or The Symptoms of an Healed Soul, with y^e methods of coming at it. *Melius est audire Socratem de Moribus quam Hippocratem de Humoribus Disputantem.*" Without stopping for this scholastic pun, we say only that in this chapter, with especial propriety, moral and religious considerations are of more moment than physical considerations, the Psycho-pharmakon properly presides, and we are taught "first" to "entertain the Right Thoughts of the Righteous;" secondly, "to make it the chief end of our life that God may be gratified and glorified;" and so on through seeing God in all our enjoyments and all our expectations with a swallowing up of our will in the will of God, and a fulness of benignity to our neighbor.

Next comes the chapter upon the "Tree of Life;" "the Blessings of an Healed Soul," then chapters on universal medicine, the same being prayers and alms-giving; and upon "the probable seat of all diseases and a general cure of them," which is the "Breath of Life" and a "Serious Piety." "The fear of the Lord tendeth to Life." Then comes a chapter upon exercise which he regards justly as a sort of catholicon, and upon which he makes the further "Reflection," "Bodily exercise profiteth a little: but Piety is profitable for all things." Then in the next chapter, under the title of Conjecturalia, he develops the theory of the propagation of disease by animalculæ; and in the next treats of "Notable Cures from the Invisible World." And here his credulity and superstition and piety are so thick a

muddle as to serve for a considerable apology to him, for all which he had done* to foment and sustain the persecution of witchcraft. He obviously mistakes the dreams and delusions of sickness for visitations of angels, and ascribes recoveries that are in the usual order of nature, to supernatural agencies. Next he speaks of "Pains, Dolours, Aches in general," and then of head-ache and then of tooth-ache, upon which he writes at length, introducing the subject with the remark that the "Sin of my First Parents was perpetrated by y^e Teeth." His method of treating this subject is like that of all the other subjects in his essay. He treats first of all the possible sins of the particular organ under consideration, and what "Sentiments of Piety" can be drawn therefrom; and then enters upon some account of the diseases of the organ and their treatment; teaching, always, also, that we should be "more concerned for being saved from Sin than from Sickness."

His pious deductions and teachings in this way, however well meant, are not always of the most consolatory kind. Thus he says, "Now lett y^e gouty People that are chastened with Pain in their Bed and the multitude of their Bones with strong pain, fall into serious and awful meditation on y^e pain, which will be the portion of them on whom an All-powerful God will make known the power of His Anger." And to persons suffering from urinary diseases, he says that one of the most proper sentiments of piety will be "that the Pains which we suffer are much less than we deserve."

Having explained Cotton Mather's method, it would not be useful here to review the work in any more detail. Like

* Cotton Mather died in 1728. He speaks (p. 64) of a patient in Nov., 1724.

most superficial medical works, it is full of credulity and superstition, abounding in remedies which are always the more numerous according as knowledge is less (for with certainty comes simplicity) and deals largely in specifics and infallibles. Not seeming to recognize the natural tendency in almost all diseases to recovery, it singles out and distinguishes certain elements in the daily history of sickness by calling them treatment, and ascribes the termination to these as a result. Thus means of the most various and even opposite kind are made to procure the same issue ; and great consequences are ascribed often to the most trivial causes. For instance, “a young woman troubled with a desperate cough was cured by nothing but washing with cold water every morning behind her ears, and on her temples, and on the mould of her head ;” and “I have known sorry and sad and obstinate coughs wondrously cured by nothing but this ; take only two or three spoonfuls of cold water as often as an hard fit of coughing returns upon you.”

And where the natural tendency to cure does not obtain, as in gout and asthma and consumption, remedies multiply, and in aggravated cases are very often made disgusting, as was the tendency in that age. Thus he says, “there is Rime as well as Reason” in the statement that makes “*Stercus et urina medicorum fercula prima.*” Whether the excrements of animals are remedial, as he says they are, to complaints of the bowels, by some so-called homeopathic propriety, or whether their alleged efficacy should be accounted for by the later explanation of Dr. Brown-Sequard, in the power of the will to arrest symptoms where the inducement would certainly seem to be sufficient, we do not undertake to determine. And it would not comport with the amenities

of the occasion to dwell on this subject longer, although it comes up often, and in various forms, in the treatise of Cotton Mather, who finds in the excrements of Human Bodies "a Remedy for Humane Bodies that is hardly to be paralleled;" and in speaking "of the virtues of the waters of medicinal springs," says to man, "my Friend, thou hast one within thee that exceeds them all."

There is one subject, however, upon which Cotton Mather writes, where his knowledge is obviously more accurate and more valuable. This is the subject of inoculation of Small-Pox, of which disease, also, he gives a very good account. It will be recollected that he first suggested this to physicians in Boston in 1721; and assisted and sustained Dr. Zabdiel Boylston in its introduction here, which was also its introduction into America, with spirit and courage and successful perseverance, against calumny, persecution, and even violence. His account of this operation and its results is so complete and so correct that it is worth copying here as a matter of antiquarian and scientific interest; for the operation itself is superseded by the safer one of vaccination, and is even forbidden by legislative enactment in some of the States, although it has been performed in our own State repeatedly within the last year.* Cotton Mather says that he was first instructed in this "wonderful practice" by a Guramantee† servant of his, long before he knew that any Europeans or Asiatics had the least acquaintance with it, and some years before it was enriched with the communications of the learned foreigners, whose accounts I found agreeing with what I received of my servant, when he showed me the

* See Report of State Board of Health, Massachusetts, 1874.

† Koromantynes are from the West coast of Africa.

scar of the wound made for the operation ; and said that “no person ever died of the small-pox in their country that had the courage to use it.” He says that the first communication on this subject was from Dr. Emanuel Timourus, R.S.S., who wrote from Constantinople, in December, 1713, to the effect that this practice had been introduced there “by the Circassians and Georgians, and other Asiaticks, for about forty years.”

Cotton Mather first describes how the operation is done in Constantinople, the virus being taken from a healthy young person “that has the small-pox of the best sort upon him on the Twelfth or Thirteenth Day of his Decumbiture,” and goes on with the history of the results as described from the Levant, exemption from graver and frequently fatal disease being procured by a “transplantation,” which has no very great inconveniences. He then gives his own description under fourteen heads. Some of these read as follows :

I. We make usually a couple of Incisions in the Arms, where we usually make our Issues ; but somewhat larger than for them. [Sometimes in an Arm and in a Leg.]

II. In these we putt Bitts of Lint [the patient at the same time turning his Face another way and guarding his Nostrils] which have been dipt in some of the variolous matter, taken in a vial from the pustules of one [if we can find such an one] that has the small-pox of the more laudable sort now turning upon him ; and so we cover them with a plaister of Diachylon.

III. Yett we find the variolous matter fetched from those that have the Inoculated Small-pox as Agreeable and Effectual as any other. Yes, and so we do what is taken from them that have the confluent sort.

IV. In four and twenty hours we throw away the Lint ; and the sores are dressed once or twice every four and twenty hours with warmed Cabbage Leaves.

V. The patient continues to do things as at other times ; only

he does not expose himself to the injuries of the weather, if that be at all Tempestuous. But we find the warmer he keeps himself he afterwards finds himself no loser by it.

VI. About the Seventh Day, the patient feels the usual symptoms of the small pox coming upon him, and he is now managed as in an ordinary putrid Fever. If he can't hold up he goes to Bed. If his Head akes too much we putt a common poultice on his Feet. If he be very Qualmish at the Stomach we give him a gentle vomit. Yea, we commonly do these things almost of course, whether we find the patient want them or no. [And here he adds in a note "especially give the vomit."] If the Fever be too high in some constitutions we Bleed a little. And finally to hasten y^e eruption if it come on too slowly we putt on an Epispastic.

VII. Upon or About the Third Day from the Decumbiture the Eruption begins. The number of pustules is not alike in all. In some they are very few. In others they amount unto an hundred. Yea, in many they amount unto several hundreds. Frequently unto more than what the Accounts from the Levant say is usual there. But in some there is not what may be fairly called a Decumbiture. The eruption is made without their suffering one minute of any sensible sickness for it. Young children, even such as are dandled on the knee, and hanging on the Breast, seem to fare y^e best of any under this operation.

VIII. The Eruption being made, all Illness vanishes. There's an end on't, except there should be something of the vapours in those that are troubled with them. There is nothing more to do, but keep warm, drink proper teas, eat gruels and milk porridge, and panada, and Bread and Butter, and almost anything equally simple and innocent.

IX. Ordinarily, the patient sits up every day and entertains his friends; yea, ventures upon a glass of wine with them. If he be too intense upon Hard Reading and study we take him off.

• • • • •

XI. On the Seventh Day are all usually come to their maturity, [Some on the Fifth.] And soon after this they go away, as those of the small-pox in the distinct sort use to do.

XII. The patient goes abroad quickly, and is most sensibly

stronger and in better health than he was before. The transplantation has been given to a woman in child-bed, eight or nine days after their delivery, and they have gott rather earlier out of their child-bed, and in better circumstances than ever in their lives.

* * * * *

XIV. The transplantation has been tried on such as have gone through y^e small-pox formerly in y^e common way, and it has had no effect upon them except an Hour or Two of harmless Indisposition about the time when the Eruption should otherwise have been made upon them."

It is remarkable that in all this account of inoculation, where Cotton Mather obviously had knowledge, he forgets his learning, and even neglects any allusion to "Sentiments of Piety."

We have now given this essay perhaps as much attention as it deserves. It is difficult to write upon it without falling into the discursiveness and confusion which characterize the essay itself. But we have shown that the elementary principle in its structure is the deduction of disease as the direct consequence of sin, and its treatment accordingly; its moral and religious aspects always being considered first. And perhaps even the development of the order of the essay, if it may be said to have any order, has the same pious explanation; for while the first chapter on any special disease is the chapter on Cephalica, wherein he considers first "What pains did my dear Saviour suffer in his Head when he felt the Crown of Thorns;" his second chapter, "entituled Denti-frangibulus, or the Anguish and Relief of the Tooth ache," suggests the consideration that the "Sin of my First-parents was perpetrated by the Teeth." Thus Salvation and Sin govern the selection of the two first diseases to be considered.

But this is sufficient. The book is prodigal of learning and prodigal of piety. Who shall say that the sources of

both were not equally pure? Facility of acquisition and retentiveness of memory, with great study, made Cotton Mather a man of learning, while the character of his mind was not adapted to wisdom; and in a scholastic age he became a pedant. In his constant and intimate communion with Heaven his habits of thought formed his habits of speech, which may make him seem to us sometimes only a pietist and a pharisee. But it is better and happier to look upon his writings and his life with sympathy and trust and humility, and sometimes even with compassion, searching out the good to aspire to it and to imitate it. Especially, let us not now stir up the Pool of Bethesda, to see if its waters may not become turbid.

Since our last annual meeting two of our members have died.

The Hon. IRA PERLEY, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of New Hampshire, died at Concord, N. H., on Thursday, February 26, 1874, in the 75th year of his age. He was born in Boxford, Essex County, Massachusetts, November 9, 1799. He graduated at Dartmouth College, in the class of 1822, and was further connected with that institution as tutor, from 1823 to 1825, and as Treasurer from 1830 to 1835. Devoting himself to the profession of law he soon reached high position, and was appointed a justice in the Superior Court of New Hampshire in 1850, and chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court in 1855. He resigned this trust in 1859 to return to the practice of law, and was re-appointed in 1864. He now served till 1869, when he had nearly reached the age which limits the tenure of that office in New Hampshire.

Judge PERLEY was an excellent scholar in the ancient

classics, and in the languages and literature of modern Europe ; and kept up his interest in letters to the last. He had a retentive memory and a very active mind. He was of genial disposition, of great kindness and modesty and simplicity of character, and was a man of sincere religious convictions and of christian life and dignity. So, all his influences, social, civil, judicial and religious were excellent.

His contributions to literature were few. He delivered a eulogy upon Daniel Webster, before the Legislature of New Hampshire, December 22d, 1852, and a eulogy upon Rufus Choate, at a Dartmouth College commencement ; and at the anniversary of the founding of Dartmouth College an address upon the relations of the College to the Bar. All his public performances were of a high order. To those of us who knew him his society was delightful, instructive, and elevating.

CHARLES SUMNER, Senator, died at Washington, March 11th, 1874. He had been a member of this Society for more than thirty years, and our Secretary of Foreign Correspondence since October, 1867. Immediately on his decease the President called a meeting of the Society, at which he presented commemorative resolutions appropriate to the occasion, which will appear in the printed transactions. The Society was also represented at Mr. SUMNER's funeral, which occurred in Boston, March 16th.

We have no design to add here to the eulogy which his death at once called forth, and which has not ceased to echo through the nation. To us he was our associate and to many of us our personal friend. We have felt the warmth of his heart ; we have sympathized with his great purposes ; we have followed in our daily walk the light of his universal culture.

No death has touched the hearts of so many people since that of Abraham Lincoln. And while millions whose shackles he had done so much to unloose have grieved in silence, there has been no better expression of the general affliction than by the tongue of the colored Senator from South Carolina herself, whose eloquent oration in Faneuil Hall will be a historical event.

Mr. SUMNER was born in Boston, January 6, 1811. He graduated at Harvard College in 1830, and was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1851. So much of his public life was political life that this is not the proper occasion to eulogize his opinions or his actions. Suffice it to say that in the procession of great events which have illustrated the history of our country during the last twenty-five years, he marched always in the front rank. We may say also that however much he may have been criticised and opposed, he lived long enough to command the respect of all for his integrity and for his purity of purpose; and to show that in his forecast of the life of the nation, his vision had been prophetic.

Over his grave, already, personal differences are reconciled, and political differences fused in common sympathy; and patriotism gets new life and vigor.

For the Council,

JOSEPH SARGENT.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

AN analysis of the list of accessions appended to this Report shows that there have been received as *gifts* two hundred and seventy-three books, two thousand six hundred and one pamphlets, one hundred and thirty-four files of newspapers—nineteen of them bound, two hundred and sixty-three engraved illustrations and lithographs, ten photographs, six maps, two portraits, and sixteen coins and medals; by *purchase* and *exchange*, one hundred and forty-two books, seven hundred and twenty-two pamphlets, fifty-seven files of newspapers—twenty-eight of them bound, forty-two photographs, and one Indian stone implement; and that one hundred and thirty-one books have been made up from unbound materials.

The *aggregate* is five hundred and twenty-three books, two thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets, three hundred and twenty-one volumes of newspapers, two hundred and sixty-three engravings, fifty-two photographs, six maps, two portraits, sixteen coins and medals, one stone implement—besides sundry cards, handbills, broadsides, &c.

Notable among these are the following: a life-size portrait of Hon. JOHN DAVIS, enlarged from a photograph and very handsomely framed, by Whipple, being an excellent likeness of our former President, from HORACE DAVIS, Esq., of California, his son, and a member of this Society; also, seven

Pompeian coins from the same source; two volumes of ancient newspapers, viz. the *Worcester Spy* in the years 1771-72, and *Lloyd's Evening Post*, in 1770-71, with an ancient engraving of "The Royall and most pleasant game of Goose," from Mr. S. E. Brackett, of Braintree; forty-three books and three hundred and eighty-two pamphlets, from Messrs. Grout and Putnam, of Worcester, booksellers; seven books, one hundred and five pamphlets, two hundred and thirty-three engravings and lithographs, from Mr. J. G. Smith, of Worcester; a rare engraved portrait of Washington, from Prof. Charles O. Thompson, of Worcester; seven historical medals, from Mr. Isaac F. Wood, of New York, his own issues; a sample in bronze of the famous French memorial medal of the martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln, from Mr. E. Caylus, of New York; the varied and numerous gifts of NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., and Hon. Clark Jilison; the excellent oil portrait of Col. John May, of Boston, whose journals of two Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788 and 89, with a biography by Rev. Richard S. Edes, have lately been printed, (the portrait was the gift of Misses Mary D. and E. Augusta May, and the journals and biography came from Mr. Edes); the donations of books and pamphlets from the Messrs. SALISBURY, Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, and Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, and the habitual contribution from Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN; the eighteen bound volumes of the *London Illustrated News*, from Mrs. F. W. Paine; Captain George Preble's "Three Historic Flags and three September Victories," with three pamphlets, three photographs, and twenty-two engravings; the profound scientific papers of our associate, PLINY E. CHASE, Esq., of Philadelphia; the seven bound volumes of the reports of Insane Asylums, from Dr.

Pliny Earle, of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton; the additional "Treaty Publications," from Hon. JOHN C. B. DAVIS—and many others, for which we must refer to the schedule itself.

The Society are much indebted to the Messrs. Baldwin, proprietors of the *Massachusetts Spy*, for permission to use their files (whether bound or unbound) for the purpose of making the Society's set of that ancient newspaper as perfect as possible, in regard to both numbers and condition. Mr. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, speaks strongly of the great advantage derived from this generous favor. It is a liberal view of the subject that the proprietors have taken, in recognizing the importance, to themselves as well as the community, of rendering at least one series of that long continued journal sound and complete.

The most interesting, and probably the most important, gift which is named in the list, is a large and richly bound quarto volume, containing marvelously perfect photographic representations, with a descriptive text, of the articles constituting the collection of aboriginal relics which had been formed by the late FRANKLIN PEALE, a member of this Society. It is the tribute of a loving wife to the memory of a lamented husband, prepared without consideration of the labor and cost involved in its completion. It is itself a rare and extensive cabinet, hardly less available for scientific study and comparison than the solid substances so exactly portrayed. The Society will appreciate its intrinsic value as illustrating one of the most interesting departments of archæology, and be grateful for the possession of so appropriate a memorial of one of its distinguished members.

Your librarian has had frequent *occasion*, and more

frequent *inclination*, to refer to the Mather manuscripts in our possession, as affording valuable material for publication. The clergymen of that family, for three generations, held such positions in connection with the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of New England as to give them a representative character in its history. Hence their writings and acts, whether of a public or of a private and personal nature, have been peculiarly subjects of notice and criticism. The naturally strong qualities of mind and high culture implied by their contemporary prominence and influence among men themselves able and well educated, have contrasted so strongly with certain apparent weaknesses, and seemingly unamiable and undignified traits, disclosed by their diaries, and other private papers, and thence reflected upon printed productions, themselves not always remarkable for judgment and good taste, as to afford opportunities for unfavorable comment not easy to be resisted. The tide of modern opinion has set so generally against Increase and Cotton Mather that people who read history and observe how much they were respected in their own time, notwithstanding the full proportion of enmities and jealousies attending the public consideration they commanded, begin to inquire if their faults may not possibly now be even more exaggerated than were their merits when these men were seen and measured by the eyes of contemporaries and daily associates.

The prejudice against the Mathers, fostered by the severity of their condemnation at the hands of some eminent writers, has operated with unhappy force and effect upon one portion of our New England history. *The story of witchcraft delusions* here has derived pungency and unfavorable notoriety, to a large extent, from the connection of the Mathers

with it, and their supposed responsibility for it. Thus the occurrences, sad and disreputable enough as they were, in our enlightened estimation, have been made to bear the additional burden of the personal unpopularity of two men. The blame of the proceedings has been cast upon them, and the reputation of New England has suffered, to the extent of making her *a by-word*, for yielding, as alleged, to the influence of their weak superstition and love of control.

There are not many persons of mental condition so evenly balanced and carefully trained that a diary of their secret sentiments and emotions, faithfully kept, with entire freedom from restraint, would not, if made public, detract somewhat from the dignity of their reputation. The diaries of what may be termed *the Puritan Era*, so largely consisted of self-examinations in the supposed presence of an All-seeing Eye, that they in a manner took the place of the confessionals of the Romish church; resembling the system of that church also in the practise of estimating merits, or spontaneous acts and impulses of a virtuous character, as well as causes of abasement, as a means of determining the existing moral condition. An American statesman and orator of the last generation, was much impressed with the impolicy of leaving the private papers of a person of his temperament to the construction of posterity, and consigned letters and other manuscripts to the flames so effectually that his autograph is a rarity even among his children. It would have been well for the fame of the *Mathers* if they had made a similar sacrifice. The quasi confessions, upon which they are often judged and condemned, are of a kind that would hardly be received as legitimate evidence of guiltiness in a judicial

trial, and are to be taken not so much in a literal as in a theological sense.

With their prodigal use of the pen, and their habit of preserving the minutest and most common-place memoranda, they were also, fortunately, collectors of some classes of manuscripts other than their own, such as might naturally fall into their hands as the leading theologians of their time. Their possession of papers prepared for the Synods of 1648, 1662, and 1680, by eminent ministers, is significant of their leadership in moulding and directing the results of those great Councils.

At the Synod of 1648 *John Cotton, Richard Mather, and Ralph Partridge*, were selected from among the clergymen, each of them to draw up "*a scriptural model of church government, unto the end that out of those there might be one educed*" which the Synod would adopt. It happened that the model prepared by **Richard Mather** was the one most largely used in the framing of the platform. Among the family papers we have, in Richard Mather's handwriting, the copy from which the platform as adopted was printed, and also his original draft or model. Believing that a comparison of these papers would throw some additional light upon the ecclesiastical history of New England, by revealing what had been rejected as well as what had been accepted in this process of determining and defining the rules of faith and practice, an arrangement was planned a year or two since, for publishing these documents with suitable annotations. It fell through in consequence of a disappointment in regard to the expected editorship. As matters have turned out, however, the delay is not to be regretted, for the model drawn up by Rev. Mr. Partridge has now been

discovered in the same collection. It appeared as an obscurely written treatise "*On Church Government*," which had been ascribed by the late Rev. Mr. Felt to Mr. Reyner, and bore his endorsement to that effect.

At the October meeting of the Society this was shown to Dr. HENRY M. DEXTER, who suggested that it might possibly be the lost model of a platform proposed by the third member of the Commission, Mr. Partridge. The truth of this happy conjecture was tested and verified by means of a passage in Increase Mather's work, entitled "*First Principles of New England*," &c., published in 1675, where an extract from Mr. Partridge's model is given, with a statement that "the manuscript is still extant in the handwriting of the Reverend author." The passage quoted was found in the manuscript, and the opinion of Dr. DEXTER was shown to be correct. It has required both care and study on the part of Mr. Barton, the assistant librarian, to secure an accurate copy of the document, but it proves to be an important paper of its kind, bearing in some of its points upon questions recently agitated in prominent Congregational churches. It only remains for Dr. DEXTER to follow the bent of his studies and tastes, his prelections and his predilections, and confer upon the Society the favor of being able, through his agency, to publish these records of religious history with suitable explanations.

An opportunity of illustrating the medical opinions and practises prevalent in the time of the Mathers is afforded to the profession by Cotton Mather's elaborate and curious manuscript treatise, bearing the quaint title of "*The Angel of Bethesda*;" filled with remedies, moral, mental, and in a double sense physical, such as were supposed at that day, by leading authorities, to be effective.

This should not be confounded with "The Angel of Bethesda," a brief tract printed by him, but without his name, having on the title page only the signature "By a Fellow of the Royal Society." There is an evident connection between the two, but the manuscript work is very much more full and extensive. The Angel of Bethesda has the running title of "NISHMATH CHAJIM," or, "Breath of Life." It begins with the statement that "There is a *Spirit in Man*: a Wonderful Spirit, which from very good authority may be called NISHMATH CHAJIM, (*or the Breath of Life*:) and which may be of a *Middle Nature* between the *Rational Soul* and the *Corporeal Mass*; but may be the *Medium of Communication* by which they work upon one another. It wonderfully receives also *Impressions* from *Both* of them, and perhaps it is the *Vital Tye* between them."

In a letter received lately from a gentleman whose ancestors were connected closely with the Salem witchcraft proceedings, and who is preparing to print a new and exhaustive account of those events from the vantage ground of modern Spiritualism, the writer states that Cotton Mather, "when he could manage cases of witchcraft alone, and privately, was disposed to do it patiently, kindly, wisely even, as looked at from his stand-point. He had obtained glimpses of mesmeric force, and began to learn that by movements of his hands and arms he could vary their action. For this he was ridiculed by Calef. The difficulty with him—but of which he was all unconscious—was that he ascribed the aid he received to the Almighty directly, and perhaps presumed that it came because of his holiness, while he in fact derived it from chance compliance with the

laws which govern the natural forces called *mesmeric*, or animal magnetism. When he worked alone he was the best manager of witchcraft cases of his day."

This statement is from a letter of inquiry respecting our proposed publication of Cotton Mather's manuscript account of the case of Mercy Short, a case similar to that of Margaret Rule, but of greater interest and fuller details. It will be remembered that the account of Margaret Rule was not published by Mather himself, but by his enemy Calef, who, by some means, obtained possession of it. The story of Mercy Short, from an endorsement upon it, appears to have been privately circulated among friends, but there is nothing to show that Mather intended it for publication.

Whether modern phases of supernaturalism afford explanation and palliation of its ancient forms, or fail to do so, we need not stop to consider, in order to feel sure that great injustice has been done to New England by the manner in which the incidents of her connection with witchcraft have been narrated. It is not necessary to re-examine the incidents themselves, or to refer to points of controversy respecting agencies and influences; these have been more than sufficiently investigated and discussed. We may go behind all that has been printed, and say there is good reason for assuming that the accounts of the witchcraft proceedings have been written from a wrong point of view, and have been colored and shaded in a way to cause erroneous impressions of their relative character and the responsibility of the country for them. A mere episode in the history of a delusion common to all communities of all periods, and that has been wildest and most destructive

where civilization was most advanced, happening to break out here under remarkably favorable conditions for its appearance, has been treated as if it were chargeable to local fanaticism, and indicative of local and special bigotry and superstition. The idea has been generated that belief in witchcraft was a *New England variety of the Puritan Faith, and that Cotton Mather was its Prophet!*

It is nevertheless true, and it will ultimately be admitted, that New England, as contrasted with other countries—in every particular with the mother country—is entitled to credit for her comparatively sensible, christian, liberal and decisive mode of dealing with incomprehensible phenomena, according to law and gospel, as then understood by the wisest and strongest minds. Her practical and speedy disposal of the subject, with comparatively little private suffering or public disturbance, shows to real advantage by the side of the greater outrages which long after continued to occur in England and Scotland, and should have saved her from the exceptional obloquy to which she has undeservedly been subjected.

If the story should be told, not as an abnormal, but only as an *additional* illustration of human infirmity, made conspicuous by the isolation of its locality (as an object of microscopic examination is isolated for distinctness of view) and because of a concentration of public attention upon the time and the men and the circumstances for other and independent reasons, the method of representation would be fairer and more philosophical. Whether the proceedings are regarded from a metaphysical point of consideration, or in their relation to religious obligations and legal requirements,

nothing new or original in conception, and nothing unusual or excessive in conduct, can be charged upon our fathers. The distinguishing features of their operations are an uncompromising submission to their views of religious duty, and a literal obedience to laws which directed with great precision the modes of procedure in such cases. The physical and metaphysical phenomena were exactly such as they were led to expect by the precedents of other lands and other times. The tests, the manner of examination, the nature of the evidence, the processes of trial, and the consequences of conviction, were laid down, with a clearness that admitted of no evasion or misinterpretation, in "Dalton's Justice," the accepted legal guide of the provinces. In three editions of this standard law-book of the *Old* England and almost solitary one of the *New*, now before me, (those of 1622, 1625, and 1680), the common forms of supposed witchcraft are classed among the felonies by statute without benefit of clergy. These are described with particularity, with some slight enlargement in the later edition; as by the remark that "by the ancient common law such offenders were to be *burned*, and by reference to the law of God against witches, and the seekers of witches and wizards." For the "better discovery" of witches and witchcrafts (meaning the investigation of alleged cases) the author has inserted rules and observations "partly out of the Book of Discovery of the Witches that were arraigned at Lancaster, England, anno 1612, before Sir James Altham, and Sir Edward Bromley, Judges of Assize, and partly out of Mr. Bernard's Guide to Grand Jurymen." No one can read these directions and legal precedents, occupying more

than two closely printed folio pages, without being struck with the scrupulous exactness of their observance in the trials at Salem. The proper constitution of the Court, the technical definition of the crime, the character of the evidence to be sought and admitted, and the penalty to be inflicted, being prescribed minutely and strictly, little freedom of action was left to the judges. If they did nothing extenuate, and nothing set down in malice, they filled the measure of their responsibility.

The real responsibility of these tragical trials may be carried back to the statute of 33 Henry VIII., and to the sermon preached by Bishop Jewell, before the Queen, in 1558, in which he alarmed her majesty by suggesting that the witches and sorcerers, which had marvellously increased of late years, and were sadly afflicting her subjects, might extend their baleful influences to her sacred self. In the *next parliament a bill was passed for making enchantments and witchcrafts felony*; and upon this foundation the English law relating to those declared crimes was built up and established by repeated trials, by another statute in the reign of James I., and by the ruling of the most distinguished judges, till it acquired the explicit form and directory character set forth in the edition of Dalton printed just before the crisis in New England of 1692.

Sir John Popham, whose only exhibition of visionary tendencies was when he attempted to utilize convicts by planting a colony of them in Maine, and concerning whom our historical brethren of that State have been a little *bewitched*, had an opportunity to construe the statute in 1589. One Mrs. Dyer, (perhaps an ancestress of the Mary

Dyer who was so troublesome in Boston), had practiced conjuration against the Queen. Secretary Walsingham submitted the case to Popham, then Queen's attorney, for his opinion of the proper measures to be taken. That hard-headed lawyer, not very prone, we may believe, to be affected by superstitious fancies, decided that Mrs. Dyer's conjurations were not within the compass of the Act, because she neither set figures nor made pictures, which were supposed to be requisite to the effectiveness of the spell.

Since legislation, explained and confirmed by judicial decisions of the highest authority, extending through several generations, had clearly settled the English law and practise concerning witchcraft, as an acknowledged fact and felonious crime, how could our New England judges avoid condemning the alleged culprits if they believed them guilty? and why should they not believe them guilty, when the evidence produced, the confessions, the incidents constituting the disgusting phenomena of the offence, conformed precisely to the signs, symptoms, confessions, &c., detailed in the English precedents they were constrained to follow?

And why should they not believe in witchcraft as an abstract question? The Bible, in its literal sense, regarded by them as the foundation of all law, declared explicitly, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Hence Martin Luther says, in his "Table Talk," "I should have no compassion on these witches. I should burn them all." So thought Calvin's enlightened city of Geneva, where five hundred were burned in three months. Their existence and power were recognized, not by puritans especially, but

by divines, judges, philosophers, of the highest rank and admitted wisdom, in continued succession to their own time.* Barrington estimates the judicial murders for witchcraft in England at an average of one hundred and fifty per annum for two hundred years, or thirty thousand in all. There were executions for this cause in England as late as 1716, and in Scotland as late as 1722. The laws against witchcraft remained on the statute book till 9th of George II., when they were repealed.

If, in this remote corner of the world, our ancestors had been somewhat behind their age in clinging to long established convictions, it would be no ground for wonder or blame. It would rather be a circumstance requiring explanation if the influences by which they were surrounded had not nourished, or even developed superstition in the coolest and steadiest minds. The cause which brought them into this wilderness was one against which they firmly believed evil spirits were strenuously contending. Here they struggled for existence beneath the shadow of mystical forests, haunted by treacherous savages, practising weird and elfish rites, hovering about their infant settlements, and subjecting them to sudden and cruel destruction in the darkness of the night. The succeeding generations grew up with their imaginations alert and their senses quickened to the sights and sounds of nature, and whatever was threatening or

* "It is, I think, difficult to examine the subject with impartiality, without coming to the conclusion that the historical evidence establishing the reality of witchcraft is so vast and so varied that it is impossible to disbelieve it, without what, on other subjects, we should deem the most extraordinary rashness."—*Hist. of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.* By W. E. H. Lecky. I., 38.

mysterious. They had experienced great disappointments and great calamities. With the failure of political hopes and religious aspirations came exhaustion from the costly and bloody conflicts which wasted their means and took from them the choicest of their offspring.

When things go wrong, and the times are out of joint, and the reasons are not apparent, or seem to be inadequate, human nature inevitably yields to an impression of the presence of subtle and supernatural agencies, thwarting the wisest plans and frustrating the most reasonable expectations.

It is not for us, in these days of table-tippings, of magic circles, and ghostly communications, connected with scenes and actions nearly as absurd and puerile, if not as gross, as those of the supposed cases of demoniacal possession, to pronounce such appearances to be wholly imaginary, or wholly the result of deliberate deceit; unless we are also prepared to condemn our friends and neighbors who firmly believe in the honesty of such preternatural claims, and only do not happen to live in a time when they are regarded as unholy and dangerous, and are punishable by law.

With all that science now teaches of the infinitely varied and inexplicable and uncontrollable character of what are called nervous affections,* it is as unphilosophical to ascribe the singular behavior of children and others, who in 1692 were thought to be bewitched, to ingenious fraud, as it is unreasonable to accuse the clergy of that excited period with fomenting the alarms and agitations with a view to the

* See "Une Relation sur une Epidémie d'Hystero-Demonopathie en 1861, par le Docteur A. Constans. Paris, 1863."

increase of their own personal influence. Human conduct is always liable to the suspicion of mixed motives; but the charge in this case is too monstrous to be credible. It is no more than just to afford to Cotton Mather the benefit of facts which are necessary to a correct understanding of his position at the period of the witchcraft trials. He was then but twenty-nine years old, the junior of nearly all his associates in the ministry. His habits of severe study, with the vigils and fasts then deemed necessary adjuncts of piety, had broken down his health, and produced a dyspeptical and morbid condition of mind and body, constantly manifested in his diary of 1692, *the memorable year*. "My health," he says, "has been lamentably broken down for divers years, partly by my excessive toils in the public and private exercise of my calling, but chiefly, I fear, by my sins against the God of my health." Again he says that "illness and an aguish indisposition" grew upon him at such a rate that he "lives in exceeding misery, and can see nothing but a speedy death approaching."

His physical condition should be taken into account, with the fact that he had been from childhood almost wholly and merely a student, whose knowledge of men and things was derived from books rather than from intercourse and observation. He was the scholar of his time, and felt that the responsibility of that position was to be sustained. Moreover, there was a family consideration and influence which, coming to him in the third generation, imposed upon him an additional burden of expectations to be answered; so that he was bound to be better informed on all subjects than anybody else, and also to take an active and influential part in

whatever was going forward. It was in his awkward efforts to combine these duties and obligations, without natural tact, and with little knowledge of the world, that he became so largely and unfortunately mixed with the proceedings against witches. It is not unlikely that a candid re-consideration of those events, in all their relations, will remove some prejudices affecting his reputation for sincerity and fidelity to his convictions; while it should relieve the good name of New England from every unjust opprobrium, and place the discredit where it properly belongs.

Respectfully submitted,

S. F. HAVEN.

Donors and Donations.

- Miss C. R. GAY, Suffield, Conn. — The Connecticut Courant, for 1873
- Mr. WILLIAM KNIGHT, Jr., Worcester. — Five pamphlets; one photograph; and several early newspapers.
- CHARLES H. HART, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — One book; and three pamphlets.
- Mr. JOHN GATES, Worcester. — Three vols. Massachusetts State Documents.
- Mrs. HENRY P. STURGIS, Boston. — Two books; and one pamphlet.
- THOMAS H. GAGE, M.D., Worcester. — One book; and two pamphlets.
- Mr. JAMES BENNETT, Leominster. — Two books; and eight pamphlets.
- Mr. CHARLES E. NYE, Worcester. — Four pamphlets.
- Mr. FRANK A. BARTON, Chico, Cal. — One book; and one pamphlet.
- WILLIAM CROSS, Esq., Worcester. — Ten pamphlets.
- Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y. — Sixteen pamphlets.
- Mrs. CALVIN WILLARD, Worcester. — Seven books; and fourteen pamphlets.
- HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — A life-size portrait of his father, the late Hon. John Davis; seven ancient coins, etc., found among the ruins of Pompeii; and seven numbers of the Overland Monthly in continuation.
- SAMUEL FLAGG, M.D., Worcester. — Four books of early date; and a file of the "Church Builder."
- JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y. — Seventeen pamphlets
- Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston. — Twelve pamphlets.
- Prof. EDWARD NORTH, Utica, N. Y. — Three Hamilton College pamphlets.
- GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D., Worcester. — Seventeen pamphlets.
- Mr. S. E. BRACKETT, Braintree — The "Massachusetts Spy," 1 vol. for 1771-72, "Lloyd's Evening Post," 1 vol. 1770-71; and "The Royal Most Pleasant Game of ye Goose."
- Mr. JAMES L. ESTEY, Worcester. — Three ancient books.

- Mr. ALFRED SANDHAM, Montreal, Canada. — Six books; twenty pamphlets; seven engravings; and one broadside.
- Messrs. GROUT & PUTNAM, Worcester. — Forty-three books; and three hundred and eighty-two pamphlets.
- SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston. — Seven books; and one hundred and six pamphlets.
- Mr. J. G. SMITH, Worcester. — Seven books; one hundred and five pamphlets; two hundred and thirty-three engravings and lithographs; and various newspapers.
- E. H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose. — Three pamphlets.
- Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester. — An early engraved portrait of Washington: and one broadside.
- Mr. B. C. JACQUES, Worcester. — Six specimens of Confederate currency.
- Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester. — The doings of the Evangelical Alliance, 8 copies; one book; one hundred and seven Nos. of Magazines; and four files of newspapers.
- Mr. ISAAC F. WOOD, New York City. — Seven medals, issued by him.
- Mr. E. CAYLUS, New York City. — A sample, in bronze, of the famous French memorial medal of the Martyr-President Lincoln.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. — Sixty-three pamphlets; and "Our Paper," for 1873.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester. — Nine Harvard College observatory, astronomical views; fifty-one Nos. of Magazines; and a collection of programmes and handbills.
- THE LIBRARIAN. — Twenty-eight books; and three pamphlets.
- Mr. F. W. CHERRINGTON, Worcester. — The Boston Daily Advertiser from January to March, 1873.
- Misses MARY S. and C. AUGUSTA MAY, Boston. — A framed portrait of Col. John May.
- Mrs. F. W. PAINE, Worcester. — Eighteen bound volumes of the London Illustrated News.
- Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester. — Six books; three hundred and eighty-four pamphlets; and three maps.
- Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, Worcester. — Two books; one hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; and ten manuscript sermons of the Rev. Stephen Bemis, formerly of Harvard, Mass.
- WALTER BIGELOW, Esq., Worcester. — Sixteen books; forty-four pamphlets; and a large collection of miscellaneous newspapers.
- Messrs. STRONG AND ROGERS, Worcester. — The Miners' Journal for 1873; and Seward's Coal Circular for the same year.

THE EXECUTORS OF MISS NANCY LINCOLN. — Thirty-six books; twenty-five pamphlets; and a collection of newspapers, handbills and cards.

MESSERS. DREW, ALLIS & CO., Worcester. — Their Rochester (N. Y.) Directory for 1873.

Mrs. FRANKLIN PEALE, Philadelphia, Pa. — "Specimens of the Stone Age of the Human Race, as collected and arranged by Franklin Peale, M. A. P. S., Philadelphia, copied in photography, with a catalogue and introduction, also various communications on that subject, made by him to the "American Philosophical Society,"—privately printed in Philadelphia, 1873, and issued as a memorial of her lamented husband

Miss M. L. HUNTLEY, South Lancaster. — "The Constitutional Amendment; or the Sunday, the Sabbath, the Change, and Restitution."

Prof. EDWARD TUCKERMAN, Amherst. — Filson's *Histoire de Kentucke*, 8vo., Paris, 1785.

Mr. ALFRED RUSSELL SMITH, London. — *Bibliotheca Americana*, 1874.

JAMES H. SALISBURY, M.D., Cleveland, O. — Report of the Geological Survey of Ohio, vol. I., part 2.

SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester. — Worcester City Documents, 1872.

Hon. JOHN C. B. DAVIS, Washington, D. C. — "Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers."

A. P. MARBLE, Esq., Worcester. — "Worcester Schools, 1873."

Mr. DANIEL SEAGRAVE, Worcester. — A reprint of the Worcester Village Directory, 1829.

Mr. A. M. EATON, Worcester. — The New Hampshire Spy of May 5, 1787.

Hon. THOMAS H. WYNNE, Richmond, Va. — One pamphlet; and four newspapers.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston. — Four pamphlets.

Rev. WM. H. BROOKS, Hanover. — One pamphlet.

WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester. — Two photographs.

H. B. STAPLES, Esq., Worcester. — One pamphlet.

JAMES S. ROGERS, Esq., Worcester. — Sixteen Vermont Registers, 1827-54.

Mr. CHARLES HADWEN, Worcester. — A specimen of U. S. Fractional Currency, 1862.

L. P. GODDARD, Esq., Worcester. — Records of the Pilgrim Memorial Jubilee Committee, appointed in December, 1870.

Rev. CHARLES HAMMOND, Monson. — Catalogues of the Monson Academy for 1872-3 and 1873-4.

Rev. A. H. QUINT, D.D., New Bedford. — Minutes of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts, 1873.

JOSEPH DRAPER, M.D., Brattleboro, Vt. — Rules for the Government of the Attendants and Employees of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, 1873.

Mrs. P. S. L. CANFIELD, Worcester. — "Hampton and its Students."

JOHN O. GREEN, M.D., Lowell. — Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell, Mass., No. 1.

Mr. M. M. JONES, Utica, N. Y. — Minutes of the Oneida Baptist Association, 1873.

BARNARD D. EASTMAN, M.D., Worcester. — Four Worcester Lunatic Hospital Reports, 1869-72.

Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester. — Twelve pamphlets; and newspapers in numbers.

Rev. GEORGE ALLEN, Worcester. — The Manuscript Records of Justice trials before Joseph Allen, Esq., Worcester; sixteen pamphlets; the New York Aurora, 1843; the Worcester Palladium in continuation; newspapers in numbers; and various handbills and circulars.

J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., Worcester. — Twenty-seven pamphlets.

Mr. C. B. METCALF, Worcester. — Fifty-five Pamphlets; and three maps.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Washington. — Foreign Relations of the United States for 1873, 2 vols.

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, Worcester. — His Inaugural Address as Mayor, delivered January 5, 1874; eight books; and fourteen pamphlets.

Capt. GEO. HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N. — His "Three Historic Flags and Three September Victories;" three pamphlets; three photographs; and twenty-two engravings.

THOMAS S. KIRKEBRIDE, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa. — His report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, for 1873.

EDWIN M. SNOW, M.D., Providence, R. I. — His report as City Registrar for 1872-3; and the Rhode Island Twentieth Registration Report, 1872.

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Boston. — His address on the Life, Character and Services of William Henry Seward.

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, Esq., Boston. — His description of his Collection of Medals of Washington.

Rev. RICHARD S. EDES, Bolton. — Journal and Letters of Col. John May, of Boston, relative to two Journeys to the Ohio Country in 1788 and '89, with a biographical sketch by Mr. Edes and illustrative notes by Wm. M. Darlington.

ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O. — Pioneer Papers Nos. 95 and 96, by Mr. Smucker, and No. 88 by Wm. Knowles; two pamphlets; one photograph; and one broadside.

Major L. A. H. LATOUR, Montreal, Canada. — His Supplement to the *Annuaire de Ville-Marie*, for 1864.

- Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN**, Worcester. — Twelve copies of his "Remonstrance Against the Division of Worcester County;" twelve books; and thirteen Nos. of Magazines.
- Prof. PLINY KARIK CHASE**, Philadelphia, Pa. — His "Recent Confirmation of an Astronomical Prediction," and one pamphlet.
- Mr. CHARLES KAT**, New York City. — His "North American Stone Implements;" and "Ancient Aboriginal Trade in North America."
- Hon. MARSHALL P. WHELER**, Boston — His address before the American Pomological Society in September, 1873; and before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, January 7, 1874.
- Mr. F. W. PUTNAM**, Salem. — His "Description of a Carved Stone, representing a Cetacean," found at Seabrook, N. H.; and his description of a stone knife, found at Kingston, N. H.
- FRANKLIN B. HOGUE**, Esq., Lowville, N. Y. — His Paper on the Duty of Governments in the Preservation of Forests.
- Mr. THOMAS F. DEVOL**, New York City — His "Report upon the present Condition of the Public Markets of the City and County of New York."
- JOSEPH H. WALKER**, Esq., Worcester. — His Remarks on Municipal Reform; and one pamphlet.
- DEXTER A. HAWKINS**, Esq., New York City. — His Report on Compulsory Education.
- Rev. EDWIN M. STONE**, Providence, R. I. — His Report as Minister at large, 1873-4.
- Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH**, Andover. — His Lecture on the Value of the Study of Church History in Ministerial Education; and the Catalogue of Andover Theological Seminary for 1873-4.
- Mr. D. T. V. HUNTOON**, Canton. — His Memoirs of Rev. Benjamin Huntoon.
- Rev. C. D. BRADLEE**, Boston. — His Sermon on "Death and the Resurrection, a Sacred tribute placed upon the graves of Millard Fillmore and Charles Sumner;" an "Ohio Company" Obligation, 1788; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. CHARLES H. BELL**, Manchester, N. H. — His address before the New Hampshire Historical Society, May 22, 1873.
- FREDERIC KIDDER**, Esq., Boston — His paper on the Swedes on the Delaware and their Intercourse with New England.
- Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL**, Ipswich. — His Records of the Caldwell Family.
- SAMUEL S. PURPLE**, M. D., New York City. — His Genealogical Memorials of William Bradford, the Printer.
- Mr. EDWIN R. PURPLE**, New York City. — His Genealogical Notes of the Colden Family in America.

- Rev. EUGÈNE VÉTRMILE, Casco, Me. — His Indian Almanac for 1874.
- Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., Andover. — His Sermon at the funeral of Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, D.D.
- Mr. ALLEN PUTNAM, Boston. — His "Agassiz and Spiritualism, Involving the Investigation of Harvard College Professors in 1857."
- Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford, Conn — Some Helps for the Indians—a Catechism, by the Rev. Abraham Pierson, with an Introduction by Mr. Trumbull.
- NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester. — An illustrated copy of his Brief Notice of the Library and Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society; nine books; one hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; sixty-nine Nos. of Magazines; sixty-seven Nos. of Hinton's History of the United States and the Southern Rebellion; a photograph of the first Protestant Church in Canada; the Christian Union in continuation; parcels of the Boston Advertiser, Boston Journal, Daily Graphic, and Worcester Spy; sixteen broadside Family Pedigrees; and various handbills, circulars and cards.
- PLINY EARLE, M.D., Northampton. — Seven bound volumes of Insane Asylum reports, 1870-72.
- Hon. CLARK JILLSON, Worcester. — His Address at the first reunion of the Sons of Vermont at Worcester; two vols. of the Congressional Globe; six vols. of the Scientific American, 1855-70; two pamphlets; a full dress of the females of the Fejee Islands; and a piece of cloth made of bark and stained with berries by the inhabitants of the same Islands.
- Mr. E. STEIGER, New York City. — His Literarische Berichte, Nos. 1-8.
- Messrs. HURD & HOUGHTON, Cambridge. — Their Riverside Bulletin, as issued.
- M. GUSTAVE BOSSANGE, Paris, Fr. — His Bulletin Bibliographique, as issued.
- Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co., Paris, Fr. — Their Bulletin Mensuel, as issued.
- Mr. C. DE F. BURNS, New York City. — The American Antiquarian, for January, 1872, and January, 1874.
- Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. — Their Monthly Bulletin, as issued.
- Mr. D. A. K. ANDRUS, Rockford, Ill. — The Curiosity Hunter for October and December, 1873.
- Messrs. COOK, SON AND JENKINS, New York City. — Their Excursionist, as issued.
- THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. — Commercial Relations, 1872.
- THE U. S. CHIEF OF ENGINEERS. — His Report, 1873; and Professional Papers, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., No. 12.

THE STATE OF VERMONT. — Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, to which are prefixed the records of the General Conventions from July, 1775, to December, 1777, vol. 1; and the Transactions of the Vermont Dairymen's Association, 1872-73.

THE STATE OF OHIO. — Two pamphlets.

THE U. S. BOARD OF EDUCATION. — Their Circular of Information, No. 4.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. — The Report for the year 1873.

THE U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT. — The Finance Report, 1873.

THE CITY OF BOSTON. — Boston City Documents for 1873, 4 vols.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their Fifth Annual Report.

THE MASS. GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS. — Their Proceedings, December-March, 1874.

THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Eight vols. of State Documents, 1871-73.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Four numbers of their Journal.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION, Hingham. — "The Old Meeting House in Hingham, 1681-1873"

THE TRUSTEES OF THE WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL. — A framed Photograph of the original Hospital building, Front Street.

THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK. — *Parcels of the New York Evening Post*, and *Commercial Bulletin*, 1873-4.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION. — Eighteen files of Newspapers.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — Twenty files of newspapers; and forty-one pamphlets.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Worcester. — Fifty files of newspapers; and three hundred and seventy pamphlets.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO. — The Twentieth and Twenty-first Annual Reports.

THE TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY, Hartford, Conn. — Their Travelers' Record, as issued.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION. — Their Missionary Magazine, as issued.

THE MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY, South Hadley. — The Thirty-seventh Annual Catalogue.

THE MICHIGAN STATE LIBRARY. — "Lansing, the Capital of Michigan, 1873."

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Oxford, Mass. — The Catalogue of the Library. 1871.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — The Report for the year 1873.

THE CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS. — The Annual Report for 1872-3.

THE NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Twenty Second Annual Report.

THE SILAS BRONSON LIBRARY, Waterbury, Conn. — The Third and Fourth Annual Reports.

THE PROVIDENCE ATHENAEUM. — The Thirty-Eighth Annual Report.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND. — Catalogue of the Library, 1873.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Bulletin, Nos. 27 and 28.

THE PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES OF MANCHESTER, ENG. — The Twenty-First Annual Report.

AMHERST COLLEGE LIBRARY. — Prof. Tyler's Discourse Commemorative of Rev. Lewis Sabin, D.D.

HARVARD COLLEGE. — The Forty-Eighth Report of the President.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE. — The Address made at the opening of the Cleveland Cabinet of Bowdoin College, by Nehemiah Cleaveland; and the Catalogue, 1873-4.

BROWN UNIVERSITY. — The Triennial Catalogue of 1873.

YALE COLLEGE. — The Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1873-4.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK. — Report of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Celebration.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London. — Their Journal, vol. 42; and Proceedings, vol. 17, Nos. 2-5.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON. — Their Proceedings, second series, vol. 5, Nos. 7 and 8, and vol. 6, No. 1.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — The Catalogue of their Library, 1873; and Transactions for the year 1873.

THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Twentieth Annual Report.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Bulletin, vol. 5, Nos. 6-12, and vol. 6, Nos. 1-2; and Collections, vol. 12, part 1.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — Their Register, as issued; and Proceedings at the annual meeting, January 7, 1874.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF ORANGE, NEW JERSEY. — Their Constitution and By-Laws, Fifth Edition, 1873.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Annual Report for 1873.

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, No. 91; and Transactions, vol. 15, part 1.

- THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** — Their Fund Publication, No. 7.
- THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS.** — Their Bulletin, vol. 4, Nos. 3 and 4.
- THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** — Their Collections for 1871 and 1872.
- THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.** — Col. May's Journeys to the Ohio Country, 1783-89
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.** — Their Transactions for 1873.
- THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.** — Their Proceedings for the year 1873
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.** — The Canadian Journal, vol. 14, Nos. 1 and 2.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** — Their Proceedings, vol. 1, No. 3.
- THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PHILOMATHIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.** — An Account of the Organization of the Society in November, 1873.
- THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.** — Their Proceedings, parts 2 and 3, for the year 1873.
- THE CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.** — Their Proceedings, vol. 5, part 2
- THE PRABODY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.** — The Fifth Annual Report of the Trustees.
- THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.** — Their Proceedings, vol. 8, pp. 286.
- THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.** — Their Bulletin for 1873-4.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris, Fr.** — Their Journal, Nos. 1-3, 1873
- THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.** — Their Transactions, vol. 2, part 2.
- THE SOCIETY OF ART AND ANTIQUITY of Ulm and Oberschwaben** — Their Transactions for 1873.
- THE CORDEN CLUB, London, England.** — Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Dinner, June 28, 1873.
- THE MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES** — Their Bulletin for 1874.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM** — Their paper as issued
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY** — Numbers of the Weekly Spy, 1776-1870, and their paper as issued
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS** — Their paper as issued

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.
— Their papers as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE REPORTER. —
Their paper as issued.

Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following Semi-annual Report for the six months ending April 28, 1874.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was	\$30,578.06
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	2,134.01
	<hr/> \$32,712.07
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, including repairs on building, \$429.94, . .	1,765.86
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$30,946.21
 <i>The Collection and Research Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was	 \$15,062.11
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	730.22
	<hr/> \$15,792.33
Paid for books, part of Librarian's salary, &c.,	599.83
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	15,192.50
 <i>The Bookbinding Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was,	 \$9,940.04
Received for dividends and interest since, . .	463.62
	<hr/> \$10,403.66
Paid for binding, and part of Assistant Librarian's salary,	556.89
	<hr/>
	9,846.77
 <i>The Publishing Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was,	 \$9,979.44
Received for dividends and interest since, . .	392.61
	<hr/> \$10,372.05
Paid insurance on sheets of History of Printing,	61.20
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	10,310.85
	<hr/>
Amount carried forward,	66,296.33

Amount brought forward,	66,296.33
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was, . .	\$11,232.93
Received for dividends and interest since, . .	385.69
	<u>\$11,618.62</u>
Paid premium on Stocks bought,	160.00
	<u>11,458.62</u>
Present amount of the Fund,	11,458.62
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was,	\$716 28
Received for interest since,	18.30
	<u>734.58</u>
Present amount of the Fund,	734.58
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1873, was,	\$1,212.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
	<u>1,242.20</u>
Present amount of the Fund,	1,242.20
Total of the seven Funds,	<u>\$79,731.73</u>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement, . .	<u>1,331.73</u>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,500.00
Railroad Stock,	5,400.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,500.00
City and County Bonds,	1,500.00
Cash,	46.21
	<u>30,946.21</u>

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,500.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00
United States Bonds,	100.00
Cash,	492.50
	<u>15,192.50</u>

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,800.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
Cash,	46.77
	<u>9,846.77</u>
Amount carried forward,	<u>55,985.48</u>

Amount brought forward,	55,985.46
<i>The Publishing Fund is invested in—</i>	
Bank Stock,	\$1,800.00
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00
Railroad Stock,	200 00
City Bonds,	1,000 00
Cash,	310.85
	<hr/>
	10,310.85
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—</i>	
Railroad Stock,	\$1,200.00
Railroad Bonds,	1,700 00
City Bonds,	8,500.00
Cash,	58 62
	<hr/>
	11,458.62
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—</i>	
City Bonds,	\$500.00
United States Bonds,	100.00
Cash,	134.58
	<hr/>
	734.58
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—</i>	
City Bonds,	\$1,000.00
Cash,	242.20
	<hr/>
	\$1,242.20
Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/> <u>\$79,731.73</u>

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 23, 1874.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS,
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, April 24, 1874.

“THE GREAT AWAKENING.”

BY ISAAC SMUCKER, OF NEWARK, OHIO.

THE call upon me for a manuscript contribution has moved me to give a chapter of the early religious history of the West, with brief details of remarkable phenomena connected therewith.

The incipient manifestations of what subsequently became known as “*the great awakening*,” were witnessed in the scattered settlements along the Cumberland and Green rivers, in Kentucky, during several of the closing years of the last century. In the summer of the year 1799, two clergymen, the McGee brothers, one being a Presbyterian, the other a Methodist, held a number of meetings, jointly, in the southern portions of Kentucky, principally in Logan and Cumberland counties, bordering on Tennessee. They were sacramental meetings, the Lord’s Supper being generally administered at or near their close, and were usually continued from Saturday until Monday. During the latter part of the summer, and in the early autumn, such numbers attended these meetings that it was found impracticable to afford the requisite accommodations by those living in the vicinity. It therefore became necessary to attend in covered

wagons, or to bring tents and also a supply of food for themselves and horses. Thus the *Camp Meetings of Kentucky, and perhaps of the West, originated*. They were the result of a necessity; they supplied a demand that grew out of the condition of the people; and they met the exigencies of the times. Thus the closing year of the eighteenth century inaugurated Camp Meetings, at least in the South-West; and may be considered the initial year of what is generally styled "*the great awakening*"—sometimes "the great revival of Kentucky."

At the opening year of the present century the religious excitement, which had hitherto been confined principally to a few localities, became wide-spread, and extended over much of the settled portions of Kentucky, and also into Tennessee. These protracted Sacramental or Camp Meetings, as they were variously called, greatly multiplied, and were often continued four days. Many ministers of different denominations, some of whom had previously discountenanced them, now participated in the services, in the pulpit and at the altar, and gave them their earnest support. Great was the excitement of the people. Intense feeling pervaded almost the entire population, and immense numbers gave themselves up almost entirely to attendance upon the meetings and to religious exercises. During this year this wonderful religious excitement, this *great awakening in the West*, as it was called, was fully inaugurated, over a widely extended territory. The meetings grew to be of longer continuance than during the previous year, and were uniformly attended by continually increasing crowds. Unusual phenomena also characterized them. Scores of persons of all classes and descriptions would be struck down, instantaneously, as by

electric power, and remain, many of them at least, for hours, in a state of insensibility, or apparent unconsciousness. A few were known to remain in this condition of apparently suspended animation for an entire day. This was called the *falling* exercise, and the interest of the meeting was generally estimated by the number "*that fell*," which often ran into hundreds, and, as will subsequently appear, at one meeting at least, into *thousands*! Many of the subjects of the *falling* exercise, as well as others also, were seized by a species of convulsions called "*jerks*," during which the whole body would be "*jerked*" violently from place to place, regardless of all obstacles! With others a single limb only would be thus influenced, while most of those subject to the "*jerks*" would commence "*jerking*" backward and forward with fearful rapidity and violence, sometimes bringing their heads near to the floor or ground! But it was not alone in the "great congregation" that these strange exercises were witnessed, for many persons were seized with the "*jerks*" while on the highway, and so violently too, as to be often "*jerked*" from the saddle; while still others, male and female, were often thus affected when engaged at their usual avocations, upon their farms, at their shops and stores, and in their houses!

Many also, at these meetings, were seized with a propensity to bark, that is, to make noises similar to the barking of dogs! Still others were irresistibly led to laugh—to laugh immoderately, convulsively, and almost continuously for many minutes! The "*barking*" exercise was not so general as "*the jerks*," but it was practiced with a will! Indulgence in what was called "*holy laughing*" was perhaps still less frequent, but all occurred at some of the

meetings! There were other wild performances, spasmodic manifestations, and convulsive exhibitions, oftentimes witnessed, that need not be detailed—their extravagance and uncouthness decidedly conflicting with sanctioned rules of propriety!

The spring of 1801 developed the fact that the intensity of the religious excitement of the previous year and the wild delirium and convulsive furiousness of the accompanying phenomena had not diminished, but had indeed increased and become more wide-spread, extending far into Tennessee and across the Ohio river into the North-West Territory, as well as into the western settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Simultaneous meetings were held in many different and distant, and sometimes in contiguous localities, while others followed each other in quick succession, with attendants almost incredible in numbers and in remoteness of residence. During the progress of the meetings immense crowds were to be seen in all directions, passing and repassing upon the roads and paths, while the woods adjacent to the meetings seemed to be alive with people. Whole communities and sections of country appeared to be depopulated. Many neighborhoods and localities were almost abandoned, and all ages, sexes and conditions, were pressing on towards the great Camp Meetings.

The culmination of this remarkable excitement was finally reached at the famous Cane Ridge Camp Meeting in August of this year. Cane Ridge was seven miles from Paris, in Bourbon County, Kentucky, and was a Presbyterian community, in which a church was organized in 1790, and had been, for years, under the pastoral direction of Rev. R. W. Finley, one of Kentucky's pioneer ministers. Here this

strange epidemic reached its acme in wild delirium—in overpowering excitement—in unheard of convulsive performances—in indescribable excesses—in unparalleled *extravaganzas*—in variety, extent and uncouthness of bodily exercises—in phenomena most remarkable and astounding! In the numbers (supposed to be at least twenty thousand) in attendance, some of whom had come nearly two hundred miles—in the number of ministers present and officiating—in the amount of ministerial service performed—in the continuance of the meeting, it having scarcely an intermission for six days and nights, even during rain-storms—in the number (about three thousand) “*that fell*,” or became the subjects of “the bodily exercises”—as well as in the number of converts (reckoned by thousands), *Cane Ridge Camp Meeting stands unrivalled!*

A son of the aforementioned Rev. R. W. Finley, (pastor of the Cane Ridge Church), though residing a hundred miles distant in the Northwest Territory, attended the Camp Meeting, and *became a convert*. He had then just reached manhood and was married. He subsequently entered the ministry, and was for many years an eminent pioneer preacher in the West. He (Rev. J. B. Finley), near the close of a long life, gave the following account of this celebrated meeting: “When I arrived upon the ground a scene presented itself, not only novel and unaccountable, but awful beyond description. Language is powerless to convey anything like an adequate idea of the sublimity and grandeur of the scene. Twenty thousand persons were being tossed to and fro like the tumultuous waves of the sea in a storm, while many hundreds were swept down, in a brief time, like the trees of the forest under the blast of the wild tornado.

The noise was like the roaring of Niagara. Seven ministers were preaching at the same time, standing upon stumps, logs, and wagons, while Rev. William Burk stood upon a fallen tree and was declaring the law, as from Mount Sinai, to guilty men, and proclaiming in tones of loving tenderness the salvation of repentant sinners, through the merits of the Saviour."

After the Cane Ridge Camp Meeting this great excitement and the attendant phenomena began to decline. It very slowly abated during the passing years of the first and second decades of the century, and gradually subsided at last, and came to be numbered with "the things that were." Especially was there an abatement in the *violence* of the bodily movements, although during a few of the succeeding years the excitement continued, with more or less intensity, in portions of the North-West, in the Western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and of course in Kentucky and Tennessee. It was never *so general*, nor were the "jerks" and other bodily movements *so violent* elsewhere as in the two last named States. Many persons, however, who had been subjects of these exercises during the early years of "*the great awakening*," remained liable to attacks of them as long as they lived, even to old age. Rev. Dr. Samuel Doak, a Scotch Presbyterian Doctor of Divinity, a pupil of Dr. Witherspoon, a graduate of Princeton, and a distinguished educator, scholar and minister, *was one of this class!* His orthodoxy was of the Scotch Calvin-Knox sort, and he at first made battle against "the jerks," from the pulpit and privately, but finally *succumbed*, became subject to them, and occasionally had attacks, even down to near

the time of his death, in 1830, when he had attained to the ripe age of eighty-two years.

The “*jerks*” and the other bodily exercises may be said to have prevailed *epidemically* (to use a medical phrase), for about five years, attacking suddenly, sometimes almost simultaneously, large bodies of people, widely scattered over a great extent of country. Where men were convened in large bodies, they seemed to be contagious. They then became *endemic*, and as such ran a career of about the same length, over nearly the same or perhaps somewhat diminished territory, when they took the *sporadic* form, and as such prevailed, more or less, for a further period of about twenty years. They had a *geographical, a locality* feature, or characteristic too, and were apparently, not only communicable *sympathetically*, but were actually thus communicated. The moral atmosphere and religious tone that — pervaded these large and solemn meetings, together with the surroundings and attendant circumstances, were in such accord with the physical, mental and moral condition of the excited multitudes, and such was the admirable adaptation of the means employed to secure the desired ends, as to account logically, on physiological and metaphysical principles, for the origin, spread and extensive prevalence of the extraordinary phenomena under consideration. The greatly agitated masses were doubtless, for the most part, illiterate, ignorant of the laws of their being. While at these meetings they were under high excitement and alarm, in fact were in an abnormal condition, and might, therefore, naturally, be expected, while in that mental state, and under the operation of the machinery of those meetings, to go into some very unnatural and violent physical performances, and

do something very unusual, unreasonable, and ridiculous. But I proposed to give *only* the historical facts—the phenomena—not the philosophy.

These phenomena were the theme of an address, prepared and read to the Pioneers of Central Ohio, by Rev. H. M. Hervey, at their meeting, held July 4th, 1873, within the extensive mound-builders' inclosure, near Newark. Rev. C. Springer, an octogenarian veteran, was upon the platform during the reading of the paper, and his testimony was, that as a Methodist Itinerant, he ministered to numerous societies in the counties bordering on the Ohio river, between Portsmouth and Steubenville, in 1816, and for four years thereafter, and there frequently witnessed the "jerks" and other exercises, during his own ministrations. "*The jerks*," however, he said, were confined to localities that had previously had accessions to their population by immigrations from the other side of the river, that is from Kentucky and Virginia, where they had been of frequent occurrence. These people became subjects of the "jerks" where and when they were raging, as an epidemic, and brought with them their liability to attacks of them, when they came to Ohio.

The writer, more than twenty-five years after the Cane Ridge Camp Meeting and its remarkable incidents had passed into history, made the acquaintance of the Rev. William Burk, the minister who stood upon the prostrate tree at said meeting and preached to young Finley and to the excited multitude. After the youthful Cane Ridge convert, James B. Finley, had grown gray in the itinerant ministry, he also became well acquainted with him, and maintained this acquaintance many years, even to the time of the veteran's death, a few years ago, often hearing

his addresses to the public. He also frequently gave audience, during the pulpit ministrations of Rev. James Gallaher, who passed through the great revival scenes above described, his father, mother and sister being converts, and perhaps subjects of the "bodily exercises." Mr. Gallaher was a distinguished divine, who preached from 1830 to 1835 to a congregation in Cincinnati. He was also well known as chaplain to Congress in 1852-53, whose death, at an advanced age, took place in October of the latter year. He may add further, that he has also been on intimate relations for nearly half a century, with the still living veteran minister under whose ministrations "*the jerks*" and other exercises were of frequent occurrence, and that it was from him (Rev. C. Springer), and from the aforementioned venerable ministers, all actors and eye-witnesses, that he obtained most of the facts presented in this paper, and the incidents here related. *And they are all witnesses whose credibility requires no endorsement.*



7

Nº 63.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER.

OCTOBER 21, 1874.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE
1875

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.
AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER.

OCTOBER 21, 1874.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1875.



5

C O N T E N T S .

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	30
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	38
DONORS AND DONATIONS	43



PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21st, 1874, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary, Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, being absent, on motion of Judge DEWEY, Rev. R. C. WATERSTON, of Boston, was elected Recording Secretary *pro tem*.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Hon. B. F. THOMAS, of Boston, read the Report of the Council. In this report, just tributes were paid to JOHN CARTER BROWN, of Providence; Dr. JEFFRIES WYMAN, of Cambridge; and Dr. N. B. SHURTLEFF, of Boston, valued members of the Society, who had been removed by death during the past year. The report then went into an elaborate investigation of the legal aspects of the Great Rebellion, discussing questions of the deepest importance to the historical student.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester, Treasurer, and S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, read their annual reports.

All these reports were (on motion of Rev. E. E. HALE, seconded by Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, of Boston), accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

Rev. E. E. HALE made some interesting statements respecting Mr. JOHN CARTER BROWN, and Dr. ELLIS dwelt upon the characteristics of Prof. WYMAN and Dr. SHURTLEFF.

The President called attention to the Eliot Bible, edition of 1685, which had been returned from England, superbly bound, having been made perfect, and put throughout in most perfect order, by the liberality of our associate, GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq.

The election of officers being next in order, Hon. P. C. BACON and Hon. E. L. DAVIS were appointed to collect the ballots for President.

They reported the unanimous reelection of Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, and he accepted the election with thanks.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS and Hon. F. H. DEWEY, of Worcester, and Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, of Fitchburg, were appointed to nominate the remaining officers, to be balloted for by the Society. They made the following report, and the gentlemen named were unanimously chosen by ballot.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, LL.D., Boston.
JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York.

Council.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester.
SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., Worcester.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge.
Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester.
Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D., Charlestown.

HON. HENRY CHAPIN, LL.D., Worcester.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., Hartford.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.

Committee on Publication.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge.

Auditors.

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester.

HON. EBENEZER TORREY, Fitchburg.

On motion of Dr. ELLIS, the Committee of Publication were requested to consider the propriety of publishing, in the next volume of transactions, the unpublished address of Rev. Dr. BENTLEY.

The names of the following gentlemen were reported for membership :

Col. T. W. HIGGINSON, and Major BEN. PERLEY POORE, and they were, by ballot, unanimously elected.

Rev. E. E. Hale remarked upon the papers presented by Mr. Drake and suggested further investigation. Mr. Drake spoke of his interest in this investigation, alluding to the mention, in Col. WABERN's paper, on this topic, of the wreck of the *San Augustine* in 1595, in the port of San Francisco, which is the earliest mention of this name as of a port. A correct translation of Torquemada, in relation to the Punta de los Reyes, identifies the location and confirms Col. WABERN's inferences.

Hon. B. F. Thomas spoke upon the importance of procuring Local Town Histories, and authorized the Treasurer to draw on him for the sum of two hundred dollars, as his contribution towards securing such publications.

Mr. HAVEN stated that they were anxious as far as was possible to add every valuable publication in this department to the Library, and that the contribution so generously offered by Judge THOMAS was most welcome.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, referring to the List of Indian Books, printed in the Proceedings of last October meeting, remarked that the initials (AAS., JL., GB., etc.) placed after the compiler's notes, were not meant to indicate all known copies of the several books, but only those which had been consulted in preparing the catalogue. The initials JL., for instance, were omitted after the titles of ten books, at least, that are known to be in the library of Mr. Lenox. Among the many treasures of that library is a perfect and fine copy of the exceedingly rare Iroquois primer of 1707, "Another Tongue brought in", etc. When the catalogue was printed, the only perfect copy of this book that was known to the compiler was in the library of the late Mr. JOHN CARTER BROWN.

It may be well to note, by way of erratum, that the last title in the printed list, ("Mather's India Christiana," 1721), which was intentionally abbreviated, should have been included in brackets.

Rev. E. E. HALE read a passage in Roger Williams's "Key into the Indian Language," printed in 1643, in which he says of the strawberry: This berry is the wonder of all the fruits growing naturally in those parts; it is of itself excellent, so that one of the chiefest Doctors of England was wont to say that God could have made, but God never did make a better berry. In some parts where the natives have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within a few miles compass.

The question is, from whence originated those words, so often quoted, and who was this chiefest Doctor of England?

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL and Dr. ELLIS took part in the discussion: one thinking it came from Fuller, one from DeMandeville, and another quoting Izaak Walton's Complete Angler, where it is written "Indeed, my good scholar, we may say of Angling, as Dr. Boteler said of strawberries, 'Doubtless God could have made a better berry, but doubtless God never did.'"

This Dr. Boteler was Dr. Wm. Butler, a celebrated but eccentric physician, born at Ipswich about 1535. Educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow, he died in 1618, and is noticed by Fuller and Aubrey.

Hon. P. C. BACON made some remarks upon the safety of the Society's treasures from fire; which called forth an explanation from Mr. HAVEN, who stated that great precaution had been used, and it was their purpose to exercise extreme care and watchfulness.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS gave an account of buildings he had seen in Europe, and particularly of the Library at the Palace of St. Cloud.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR raised the question of the wisdom of the investment of the permanent fund of the Society, and suggested the investigation of the history of trust funds. Various historical facts were mentioned and important suggestions made.

At the close of Mr. HOAR's remarks Mr. WATERSTON made a motion that the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR be requested to prepare a paper upon this subject, to be presented at a future meeting of the Society. This motion was seconded by Rev. E. E. HALE, and remarks were made by Rev. Dr. ELLIS, Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS and Hon. HENRY CHAPIN.

A vote was then unanimously passed, requesting Mr. HOAR to prepare the paper.

Rev. E. E. HALE called attention to a recent paper by Mr. DEANE, on the origin of the name of the State of Maine, offering a resolution that a committee of five be appointed to bring together authentic accounts of the origin of the names of the several States and Territories.

The following gentlemen were appointed on this Committee and the resolution passed: Rev. E. E. HALE, Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Rev. Dr. H. M. DEXTER, Rev. Dr. ELLIS and Hon. P. O. BACON.

Previous to adjournment, the President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, invited the members to dine at his residence.

The meeting then dissolved.

R. C. WATERSTON,
Recording Secretary pro tem.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully submit their semi-annual report. The reports of the Librarian and of the Treasurer make part of the report of the Council. They indicate the growth and progress of the Society for the last half-year, the unusually large additions to the Library, and a comfortable condition of its finances, though not so plethoric as to repress any rising sentiments of generosity and beneficence in the members or friends of the institution. The Society will observe with especial pleasure, the statement of the Librarian of the increased resort to and use of our collection by authors, and students of our early annals; for to collect and preserve the materials of American history may be said to be the distinctive purpose and object of the Society. The additions to the library during the last six months are 2,044 volumes and 3,286 pamphlets. Many of the volumes and pamphlets are duplicates, and many not particularly adapted to our use; but with the system of exchanges now so well arranged and conducted, any work that can be spared from private collections will be of service to us. If our library does not need it, other libraries may, and may give us for it just what we do need. The attention of members and friends is especially called to

.

the excellent suggestions on this point in the Librarian's report.

The aggregate of the Society's funds now in the treasury is seventy nine thousand eight hundred and fifty-four dollars and fifty-five cents (\$79,854.55), the whole of which is believed to be well and safely invested.

There is one visitor who never fails us. Since our last meeting Death has taken from our little circle three members, each of mark in his own sphere of life.

John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., died in that city on the 10th of June last, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was the second son of Nicholas Brown, the benefactor of Brown University, and from whom that institution derives its name. He graduated at the college in the class of 1816. Soon after taking his degrees, he engaged in business in connection with the distinguished house of Brown & Ives. Of this house he became a partner in 1832. The writer remembers meeting him in the summer of 1852 in the gallery of the House of Lords, in London. He had been a great traveller in his own country and in Europe, residing abroad many years. He was a careful observer of men and manners, but what particularly impressed me was his extensive and minute knowledge of all the monuments of historical interest in London and its neighborhood, the city, I need not say, of larger historical interest to an American than any other of the ancient or modern world.

Mr. Brown had decided antiquarian tastes, and began early in life the collection of rare and curious books. He soon however restricted his attention to the specialty of materials of every kind for the history of the early voyages of discovery, the methods of colonization, and the subsequent

development and civilization of the continent of America. For forty years or more, he prosecuted this work with a zeal and with a freedom of expenditure which made it a leading occupation and enjoyment of his life. He thus collected, chiefly by his own knowledge and research, nearly all the works extant in any language relating to these topics, beginning with the letters of Columbus, of 1493, and ending with the political pamphlets of 1800. It was his purpose to procure every work relating to North or South America, published between these periods. The collection has been pronounced by competent judges to be more complete in its special department than any other in the world.

Mr. Brown caused a catalogue, with bibliographical notes, to be prepared by our associate, Hon. John R. Bartlett, who has been for many years familiar with the character and growth of the collections. It was executed with care and learning, and a few copies were printed for private distribution, in four parts or volumes, between the years 1865 and 1871. One of these copies Mr. Brown presented to our library.

Mr. Brown took a deep interest in the University to which had been given the family name. Since 1828, as Trustee and Fellow, he has been connected with the conduct of its affairs. His gifts to the college exceed those of any of its benefactors, his father alone excepted; among others was that of a valuable site for a library, and some seventy thousand dollars towards the erection of a library building.

Though coming early into the possession of great wealth, he was simple and modest in his tastes, and without arrogance or ostentation; somewhat formal and reserved in his

manners, he was a courteous, christian gentleman, very fond of social life and given to generous hospitality.*

While writing this report, the sad news comes to me of the death of an esteemed and valuable *working* member of this Society, for many years one of the Council, and at his death, with a single exception, its senior member. Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff died at his residence in Boston, Saturday, October 17th, at the age of sixty-four years. He was the son of Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff, and was born in Boston, June 29th, 1810. He fitted for college at the public schools of Boston and the Round Hill school in Northampton, and was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1831.

He studied medicine with his father and at the school of the University, receiving his degree in 1834. Though entering soon upon a large practice of his profession, he from an early period took a deep interest in the early records and history of Massachusetts.

In the summer of 1853 he was appointed by the Secretary of State, under the administration of Governor Clifford, editor of the records of the Massachusetts Bay. These records, extending from 1628 to 1686, edited by him with great care and fidelity, were published in six quarto volumes, the finest specimens of typography and book-making the printers of Massachusetts have given to us.

So satisfactory were the labors of Dr. Shurtleff in this work, that he was appointed in 1855 to edit the records of the Colony of New Plymouth. This duty was discharged with like care and accuracy, and published in eight volumes, quarto. His most valuable antiquarian work, beside the

* The writer, in preparing this notice, has used freely an admirable memoir of Mr. Brown, by Prof. Gannett, of Providence.

editing of these records, was the Historical and Topographical description of Boston, the first edition of which was published in 1870, and a second revised edition in 1872. This work was intended to be but the precursor of an elaborate history of his native city, for which, for many years, he had been gathering materials.

Dr. Shurtleff was elected Mayor of Boston for three successive years, 1868, 1869, 1870, and discharged the duties of that important office with courtesy, fidelity, and to the advancement of the educational and material interests of the city.

Dr. Shurtleff took a deep interest in this society, and by his councils and labors largely contributed to its growth and prosperity. We shall miss at these meetings his minute and accurate learning, his cordial greeting, his genial manners, and kindly presence.

Dr. Jeffries Wyman was born in Chelmsford, Mass., on the 11th of August, 1814. He graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1833, and was one of six professors that class has given to the University. He received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1837. For some three or four years he was Professor of Anatomy in Hampton-Sidney College, Virginia. After that he spent two years in Europe, pursuing his medical studies in the hospitals of Paris, and the study of Natural History in the Jardin des Plantes. Since 1847, I think, he has occupied the chair of Hersey Professor of Anatomy in his own college. At the time of his death he was Curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

The writer of this report may not assume to judge of his rank in the departments of study and thought to which he

devoted his life. His reputation with men of science was the possession of powers of observation and analysis which amounted to genius, and of profound and accurate knowledge.

The lawyer recalls with admiration the wonderful testimony of Prof. Wyman in the trial of Dr. Webster; in which were added to the moral evidence the beautiful precision and exact demonstrations of Science.

Dr. Wyman was of quiet retiring manners, honored and beloved just in the degree that he was known. He contributed largely to the periodicals devoted to physical science and natural history. He published the course of lectures on Comparative Physiology, delivered by him before the Lowell Institute in 1849.

It was a severe trial to the University to be called, in one year, to put the fatal star against the names of Agassiz and Wyman.

Dr. Wyman died at Bethlehem, N. H., on the fifth day of September last.

It is expected of the member of the Council, to whom is assigned the duty of preparing its report, that beside matters of business and necrology, he will consider and discuss, on his own responsibility, some matter of history he may think worthy of the attention, research, or study, of the society.

The time already occupied, and the pressure of business, always sure to come down at just the wrong moment, will compel me to touch briefly, not to say hastily, a subject that may justly claim the most thoughtful and elaborate treatment—The Legal Studies of the Great Rebellion.

The attention of those interested in historical pursuits may

well be called to the subject, if with no other view than to induce some diligent collector, possibly this society, to gather and preserve the materials for such a work. The military history of the Great Rebellion, it is already evident, will be abundantly cared for. The shelves of libraries already groan with the books that have been written. So will it be with its financial history; so many persons feeling themselves perfectly competent to talk about and write about what so few understand. Yet we venture to predict that it will be the legal and constitutional aspects of the rebellion, the light they throw upon the science of government,—if that may be called a science which does and always must largely rest on concession and compromise, and of which no profounder remark was ever made than that by Burke, when he said that its abstract perfection was its practical defect,—that will most deeply interest the historical students as well as statesmen of the next generation. Our experience for the last fifteen years has taught us quite another lesson than that written for our consolation in the lines which Johnson added to the Traveller of Goldsmith :

“ How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or Kings can cause or cure,
Still to ourselves in every place confined,
Our own felicity we make or find.”

We have found, by sad experience, how closely “that part” comes home to the bosoms and business of men.

In 1862, the writer prepared the annual report of the Council. Time is measured by events and ideas rather than by the courses of sun and stars. It has moved with such rapid pace and tread these twelve years, that the war in which we were then engaged has passed into history and

become a not unmeet subject for the "Antiquarian," using that word in the sense of our charter, whose preamble announces as a prominent aim of the society, "to perpetuate the history of moral and political events."

Regarding the vastness of its theatre, the importance of the issues involved and of the results accomplished, the late rebellion is the moral and political event of this century, whose history we should labor to understand and to perpetuate. There is only one series of events in our history with which it can be compared,—those of the Revolution.

At first view they may seem to have had different if not conflicting aims and ends. The revolution of our fathers was the assertion of self-government. The last war was, on the part of the nation, the assertion of the right to National integrity and life, to prevent the disintegration which imperilled the freedom, peace and safety of a great people; the ultimate aim of both, the building up and consecration of free institutions. The separation of the colonies from England, and the unity of the nation, were alike essential to this great end.

Nor are the moral aspects of the two great conflicts essentially different. In the men and women of our time were shown as high a sense of duty, as warm a patriotism, as devoted a spirit of self sacrifice, as in our fathers and mothers; nor were these virtues in either case confined to one side of the conflict. If the peculations and corruptions of the last war were more conspicuous, it was because of the vaster amounts expended and the vastly greater temptations to avarice and fraud. The recently published letters of Col. Pickering furnish additional evidence of the frauds and peculations in the supplies to the armies of the revolution,

and of the neglect of the States to provide food and clothing for the soldiers, when many of the people, for whose liberties they were struggling, were living in comparative ease and luxury. The thoughtful student of his country's history has no occasion "to inquire why the former days were better than these."

The great issue directly involved, that to which all others were legally subordinate, was the nature of the Union; whether the bond that united the States was perpetual or severable at the election of one or more States; the settlement of which, even by force of arms, no other way being open, was worth the great price of blood and treasure we paid for it. It was not a question with what attributes the central power was to be clothed, not the measure of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the system, — but whether there was any sun.

Though to the future student the question of Secession as matter of good sense and logic may seem a plain one; that the Union meant nothing if a State might at its election withdraw from it; that under the articles of confederation the Union had been made perpetual; that the Constitution was adopted to form a more "perfect union" than that of the confederation, more comprehensive, direct and efficient in power, and not less durable in time: that there was no word in it looking to separation; that it had careful provisions for its amendment, none for its abrogation; capacity for expansion, none for contraction; a door for new States to come in, none for old or new to go out,—he would find that, after all, upon the niceties of legal construction, subtle, learned, and philosophical statesmen, had reached different conclusions. He would find, also, what he as a student also

of human nature would be surprised not to find, that the opinions of men on this question had, at different times and in different sections of the country, been more or less moulded, biased and warped, by the effects, or supposed effects, which the policy of the central power had on the material interests and institutions of the States. Such examination not impairing the strength of his convictions, might chasten his sectional pride, and teach him the wisdom and justice of forbearance.

But it is not to the great issue involved in the Rebellion as matter of legal logic, to which our attention is directed now : it is the approach to these questions through the paths of history. No man will ever understand the issues of this Rebellion who has not exhausted the historical evidence, and seen by its light the rise and growth of a nation older than any written bond, confederation or constitution ; which, before them both had assumed its equal place among the nations of the earth, and had for seven years maintained it by diplomacy and arms. His research will carry him back to the earliest sources of our history, *fontes et origines*, and he must follow the progress of their streams for a century and a half to ascertain and illustrate how thirteen colonies so different in their modes of settlement, their charters and frames of government, their manners, religion, tastes, trade and domestic policies, were united, as Franklin said they only could be united, by the oppression of the mother country,—and how the statesmen of these colonies, in seeking for a policy and institutions suited to their new condition, were slowly led to look beyond their rights as colonists or English subjects to their rights as men,—and, after much

tribulation, to reach the grandest result of political experience and thought, the reconciliation, in living, permanent institutions, of central power with local independence, large liberty with firm order,—many states, one nation ; the form, the setting indeed, not yet perfected, but the central master thought, idea and purpose, capable of indefinite expansion, growth, and of wider and wider application, as the discoveries of science and the appliances of art should conquer time and space, and bring into neighborhood and society distant lands and climes.*

Two things we must bear in mind in this investigation, general in their application ; first, that civil institutions are largely the result of growth and development, and seldom or never of speculation and contrivance ; and, secondly, that changes in the framework of government are seldom successfully made upon any abstract inflexible rules or doctrines.

A third thing to be observed is the deep-rooted permanent attachment of the settlers of this country and their descendants to local government, through all its gradations, from the school district to the state ; with what firmness, even under the pressure of imminent danger to liberty and life, they refused to give up to the Continental Congress the least control of their “internal affairs ;” how, when the war was over, they fell back upon their old boundaries ; with what reluctance they conceded to the national government its most essential powers ; by what close and narrow construction they sought to limit and restrict the powers so reluctantly granted ; and how, when the powers of the Central

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader what an excellent guide in this research is the work of our associate, Mr. Frothingham, *The Rise of the Republic*.

government have been strained to their utmost tension, the people, the exigency past, fall back upon their old love, caring not so much for government *for* the people as government *by* the people. This attachment to local home government, originally born of the happy necessities of their colonial condition, if sometimes narrow and extreme, has, we must not forget, bred in them the love and developed the capacities for free government—has been in fact what made free government possible.

Nor will the student be fitted to enter upon the study of the issues of the Rebellion till he has exhausted the political and legal history of the country, from the organization of the National Government under the Constitution in 1789 to the Autumn of 1860, and especially from the Virginia resolutions of 1798, through the great debates and judgments of Senate and Court, in which the integrity of the nation and the supremacy of its Constitution were illustrated and vindicated by the colossal powers of Marshall and Webster; whose logic and eloquence postponed for a generation the attempt at disintegration, until—indeed, the nation had become strong enough to resist and master it.

So too our student must carefully observe and study the progress of science and its practical applications during the present century, how they have affected, not the material only, but the social and political, condition of men, and the relations of States and Nations. For example: the new facilities of communication by steamboat, railroad and telegraph, how many political problems have they solved, how many made yet more difficult of solution.

The painful anxiety with which the framers of the constitution considered and debated the question whether a republican form of government could be successfully applied to, and maintained over a widely extended territory, is a matter of familiar history. We need only refer to the reports of the debates of the Constitutional Convention, especially to the views of Alexander Hamilton and to the beautiful argument of Mr. Madison, in the fourteenth number of the *Federalist*.

These new methods of communication have practically solved the problem. To substantial purposes the vast territory is made compact and the barriers of time and space removed. The word of rule and command is heard as it is uttered from the centre by thirty-seven republics.

Yet these facilities of communication, these great iron highways of commerce and travel, which have no respect for state lines, and, for purposes of business and intercourse, go far to obliterate them, have rendered and will continue to render more and more difficult the separate organic and traditional policies of States.

Nor will our student fail to remark how the rapid material growth rendered possible by these new applications of science have brought to our shores vast multitudes of men to whom the traditions and practice of local and self government were comparatively unknown.

We scarcely need to add that the student will fail to comprehend the political history which leads up to the rebellion unless he carefully notes and studies, at every stage of its rise, growth and expansion, chattel slavery. How, identifying its life and fortunes with the production of a staple destined for a generation at least to dominate the

markets of the world, it extended its power, material and political, till its boldness growing even beyond its strength, it challenged the continent for its domain, and yet by natural causes was kept within geographical lines: and how, on the other hand, the States freed from the presence of slavery, whether by force of economical or moral reasons or both, with their advancing culture and civilization, found their convictions on the character of the institution, so in harmony with the moral sense and judgment of mankind, that it was morally impossible to tolerate its claims for new territory and new power; and how, out of this conflict of opinion and interest, finally came the conflict of arms.

These suggestions may give some idea of the patient and careful study of all our history with which the student must enter upon the more direct examination of the legal debates and issues of the great rebellion. He must add to this learning the highest powers of analysis and judgment, to master and unfold them. The variety and complication of the questions which will come up for examination, solution and judgment, have no parallel in history. Our frame of government, with its divisions and allotments of power, its *imperia in imperio*, its nicely adjusted checks and balances, is so complicated, that foreign statesmen, even English statesmen, have failed to comprehend it. Of foreign statesmen, perhaps De Tocqueville is the only exception. Even American statesmen, who had made our system of government the study, and its administration the work of their lives, found at the very threshold of the rebellion problems which no experience could solve, knots so hard that the sword only could loose them. My task is impersonal. I may not aid or confuse my student by the expression of any

opinions. But I may illustrate by one or two examples the difficulties of the work.

An obvious one is the question of the effect of an act of secession upon the State assuming to secede; how, if at all, it affected its legal status and relation to the Union.

Assuming, what is now practically settled, that there was no right of secession, the course of events showed how the abstract rules of law and logic are melted and moulded in the furnace of war.

It showed also that there were exigencies for which the wisdom of our fathers made no adequate provision. Perhaps none was possible. But to our example. The ordinance of secession had no legal force. The levying war under it was treason within the very letter of the Constitution. After the secession as before, the State remained an integral part of the Union. There were in fact, in its borders, citizens loyal and faithful to the Union and the Constitution. They were not traitors, they levied no war against the United States. There was rebellion, but they were not rebels. This was the strictly logical, legal aspect of the case. But the rebellion, from its vast proportions, assumed at once the character of war between nations, and the rules of international war had to be applied to it. The territory of the seceding states became enemies' territory, the ships that sailed from its ports or were owned by its citizens, however loyal, became prize of war. The familiar rules of war were applied to the contending parties, capitulations, cartels for the exchange of prisoners, the white flag of truce.

So far as the war was concerned the conflict was territorial. Yet under the constitution the relation of the seceding States to the Union continued. Direct taxes were levied

upon them. Some of the seceding States had representations in both branches of Congress; judges on the bench of the highest judicial tribunal, and even a Vice-President of the United States. The new State of West Virginia was admitted into the Union with the consent of Virginia as an existing State of the Union. Even after the war the seceding States were recognized as legally existing States in the adoption and ratification of the great amendments of the Constitution, and the necessary three-fourths could not have been obtained without them. The war at an end, the States resumed their active relation to the national government, though it may be under pressures and with limitations which found their justification in the exigencies of the case, but still recognized and acting as States.

It is no part of the duty I have taken upon myself to solve the problem, if indeed any solution be possible; if it be not another illustration of the trite maxim, *inter arma silent leges*, that no legal logic can contend with the logic of events.

Another striking illustration is found in the questions of slavery and emancipation. They were not and could not be settled by logic or construction. Strong as had become the hostility to the institution in the free States, settled as had become the purpose to resist its extension to new territory, the conviction that we had no legal power to interfere with it in the States where already entrenched, was general, not to say universal. It was seen at an early day that the rebellion and the war to suppress it gave to the National Government a power over the relation of master and slave which was wholly dormant in time of peace; that the relation would and must give way to military necessity, and that of that

necessity the military power must be the judge ; that, if the military commander found that the slaves, by the strength they gave to their rebellious master by bearing arms or doing other military service, or acting as the servants of those who did, obstructed his efforts to subdue rebellion, he might deprive the enemy of this force, and remove the obstruction by giving freedom to the slaves. The rebellion for the upholding and extension of slavery woke to activity the only power capable of destroying it, and the nation "out of the nettle danger, plucked the flower safety."

Again, it may be fairly said that until the Rebellion there had been no difference of opinion with jurists and statesmen as to the power of Government, State or National, to make anything a legal tender for debts but gold and silver coined at our own mints, or foreign coins at rates regulated by Congress. The financial wrecks and suffering, Colonial, State and National, out of which the rule, supposed to have been imbedded in the Constitution, had been born, were recorded on every page of our history. For more than seventy years the National Government had been in operation, at times, as in the war of 1812, almost on the verge of bankruptcy, with scarcely a suggestion that such power existed. In the first year of the Rebellion, before a dollar of tax had been laid, the promises of the Government are substituted for coin (for intrinsic value) as legal tender for pre-existing debts. I have no desire to discuss the matter as one of policy or of legal power. On both of these questions statesmen and jurists of equal capacity and intelligence are found to differ wholly. The weight of judicial opinion, it must be said, is in favor of the existence of such power.

The result furnishes another illustration of what havoc the exigencies of war make with the traditions and settled opinions of statesmen, jurists and people.

But I am already trespassing upon your patience. Time and space are left only to indicate in the most general way some of the other legal studies that will challenge attention and demand solution and judgment. Their name is legion, and they arise under every division of the powers of government.

Under the domain of executive power—that of the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

Under the power of Congress to declare war—the power to conscript soldiers to maintain it.

Within the domain of the law of nations—the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Confederacy.

The case of the *Trent*, involving the right of neutrals, against our will, to transport the agents and messengers of the enemy.

The Alabama question, involving the duty of a neutral power to prevent, within its territory and jurisdiction, the organizing or setting on foot a military expedition against a nation with which it was at peace; and, in the terms of its adjustment, looking to changes in international law to which we may not find it easy hereafter to give a cordial assent.

The Confiscation Acts, involving, together with questions of power under the Constitution, the right under the modern law of nations to confiscate the private property of enemies on the land, and what security the citizen is to find who submits to and obeys a government *de facto*.

The varied and difficult questions of constitutional law arising under the acts of reconstruction.

The subject, I submit, is of profound interest to the historian, jurist and statesman. My fear is that my imperfect conception and treatment of it may have lessened its value and dignity.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

BENJ. F. THOMAS.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report, for the six months ending October 20, 1874.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund, April 23, 1874, was</i> \$30,946 21	
Received for dividends and interest since, .	1,328.58
	<hr/> \$32,274.79
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . .	1,174.15
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$31,100.64
 <i>The Collection and Research Fund, April 23, 1874,</i>	
was	\$15,199.50
Received for dividends and interest since, .	484.00
	<hr/>
Paid for books, part of Librarian's salary, etc.	15,626.50
	226.53
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	15,899 97
 <i>The Bookbinding Fund, April 23, 1874, was, . . .</i>	
Received for dividends and interest since, .	\$9,846.77
	264.25
	<hr/>
	10,111.02
Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary,	539 50
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	9,571.52
 <i>The Publishing Fund, April 23, 1874, was, . . .</i>	
Received for dividends and interest since,	\$10,310 85
" from J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.,	291 92
for the Fund,	25 00
	<hr/>
	10,627.77
Paid for printing semi-annual reports (Oct., 1873, and April, 1874),	709 34
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	9,918.43

<i>The Salisbury Building Fund, April 23, 1874, was,</i>	\$11,458.62	
Received for dividends and interest since, . .	380.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		11,838.62
 <i>The Isaac Davis Fund, April 23, 1874, was</i>	 \$734.58	
Received for interest since,	18.29	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		752.87
 <i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund, April 23, 1874, was, . .</i>	 \$1,242.20	
Received for interest since,	30.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		1,272.20
		<hr/>
Total of the seven Funds,		\$79,854.25
		<hr/>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement, .	\$584.21	

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$15,100.00	
Railroad Stock,	4,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	11,070.00	
Cash,	30.64	
	<hr/>	
		\$31,100.64

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,500.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,500.00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,800.00	
Cash,	99.97	
	<hr/>	
		15,899.97

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,000.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00	
City and County Bonds,	500.00	
Cash,	71.52	
	<hr/>	
		\$9,571.52

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,800.00	
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	118.43	
	<hr/>	
		\$9,918.43

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,200.00	
Railroad Bonds,	2,000.00	
City Bonds,	8,500.00	
Cash,	38.62	
		<u>\$11,838.62</u>

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	200.00	
Cash,	52.87	
		<u>\$752.87</u>

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	172.20	
		<u>\$1,272.20</u>

Total of the seven Funds,	<u>\$79,854.25</u>
-------------------------------------	--------------------

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 20th, 1874.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
EBENEZER TORREY,	

WORCESTER, October 21st, 1874.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IN presenting a report on the Library to be read before the Society at its brief and busy meetings, only such details can be dwelt upon as will convey to members a general idea of the nature and extent of additions received, of the interest manifested by associates, by authors, and by the community at large, in its increase and advancement, and of the operations connected with the ordinary administration of its affairs. Hence, it is customary to attach to the report, when printed, a full list of accessions and the sources from which they are derived, and in the text to touch only upon particulars that are illustrative of points which it seems advisable to have brought to view.

It may be remarked, in the outset, that the use of the Library since the last meeting, by writers and students of history in its various forms, has been continual, and to an extent that cannot fail to be gratifying to those whose object it is to create and sustain a taste for such investigations.

The total number of books received is *two thousand one hundred and fourteen*, and of pamphlets, *three thousand two hundred and eighty-six*. Of these, there were received as *gifts*, one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight books, and two thousand nine hundred and fifty pamphlets, and also thirty-two maps, seventeen photographs, two charts,

He was saying that the fact of democracy and democracy they have
been struggling with the fact of democracy.

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Original Papers from Members of the Society. |
| 2 | " " " " Others. |
| 3 | Manuscript Gifts from Members. |
| 4 | " " " " Others. |
| 5 | Gifts from Narration. |
| 6 | " " Librarian. |
| 7 | " " College. |
| 8 | " " the U. S. Departments. |
| 9 | " " the State or City. |
| 10 | " " Banks. |
| 11 | " " Editors and Proprietors of Newspapers. |

In the first class appear Mr. Deane's Brief Memoir of John Maynard, Mr. Frothingham's Oration in Boston, July 4, 1871, Mr. Waterston's Remarks at the Agassiz Memorial

Meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History, Dr. Jarvis's Essay on the Political Economy of Health. Commodore Preble's Garrison Houses of York, Me., and his Personal Memorial to the Forty-Third Congress. Mr. Charles C. Jones, of New York, presents "Siege of Savannah in 1779, as described in two contemporaneous Journals of French Officers in the Fleet of Count D'Estaing," with an introduction, &c., by himself. Mr. Increase A. Lapham, of Milwaukee, has sent three maps of Milwaukee, drawn by himself.

From authors out of the Society, have been received as follows :

From Rev. F. W. Chapman, of Rocky Hill, Conn., his *History of the Coit Family*; from Richard L. Pease, of Edgartown, his *Report on the Indians of Gay Head*; from Elbridge H. Goss, of Melrose, his *Early Bells of Massachusetts*; from H. F. Phinney, of Cooperstown, N. Y., his Paper on *Local Historians*; from Joseph Griffin, of Brunswick, Me., his *Supplement to the History of the Press of Maine*; from Orsamus H. Marshall, of Buffalo, N. Y., his paper on *The First Visit of De La Salle to the Senecas*, in 1669; from C. J. F. Binney, of Boston, his *History of the Prentice Family*; from Justin Winsor, of Boston, his Article on the *First Folio Edition of Shakespeare*; from M. Charles Weiner, of the Archæological Society of Paris, France, his *Essay on the Political, Religious, Economical and Social Institutions of the Empire of the Incas*; from George Chambers, of Philadelphia, his *Report as Registrar of the Board of Health*; from Dr. Samuel B. Barlow, of New York, his *Remarks on a Stone bearing Hebrew Inscriptions*, found in an American Mound; from Clark Jillson, of Worcester, his

Address to the Graduating Class of the High School, with other gifts named in the list ; from F. W. Putnam, of Salem, *Twelve Papers* on various Scientific and Archæological subjects ; from General Charles Devens, Jr., of Worcester, his *Oration on General Meade and the Battle of Gettysburg* ; from Holmes Annidown, of New York, his *Historical Collections*, in two volumes ; from P. Cudmore, of St. Paul, Minnesota, his *Historical Memoir on Ireland and her Oppressors* ; from Mrs. Caroline H. Gilman, of Cambridge, her *Recollections of the Private Centennial Celebration of the overthrow of the Tea in Boston Harbor in 1773, in honor of Samuel Howard, one of the actors.*

Among the general gifts, the following are specially noteworthy :

From Dr. Samuel A. Green (in an effort to supply certain deficiencies of which he was cognizant), 24 books, 152 pamphlets, and four volumes of newspapers.

From Judge Aldrich, 35 books, 352 pamphlets, and two maps.

From our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, seven books, 125 pamphlets, various Nos. of Periodicals in continuation of series previously given, and sundry newspaper clippings.

From President Salisbury, a rare collection of publications issued at the South during the Rebellion, which he purchased for the purpose ; also, 16 pamphlets and six files of newspapers.

From Judge Dewey, 19 books, and 329 pamphlets.

From Prof. Pliny E. Chase, 720 books, 50 pamphlets, and one map, chiefly of an educational character, some of them of venerable antiquity, from the library of the late Gould Brown.

From Rev. Edward H. Hall, 139 books, and 357 pamphlets, of substantial value.

From the family of the late Mrs. John Davis, a collection of books and other matters left by her in storage at the library, consisting in part of congressional publications undistributed by Senator Davis—many of them now scarce, and of much intrinsic value. The aggregate is 416 books, eleven maps, two charts, two engravings, and 12 pictures in frames.

From the Worcester School Board, an album of Photographs of the Worcester School Houses, prepared for the late Industrial Exhibition at Vienna.

From the Washburn & Moen Wire Manufacturing Co., a liberal supply of galvanized wire cord, for present and future use in hanging pictures.

From Mrs. C. J. Bowen, of Cambridge, a cannon ball thrown from Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, which lodged in the attic of the house of her mother, Mrs. Caroline H. Gilman, of Charleston, South Carolina; also an interesting autograph letter to her from General Sherman, relating to his own principles of action during the war.

From learned Societies in other lands and at home, have been received memoirs, bulletins, and other forms of publication, in the usual number and variety; and the gifts from public bodies—literary and political—from business institutions, and private contributors, have not fallen short of the customary proportions.

The exchanges continue to be productive, and of great utility in filling gaps and supplying economically some of our principal wants. They cannot be too much encouraged.

A fact of particular interest to record, is the return from

Brinley's generous service cannot fail to be highly estimated and gratefully acknowledged.

Persons who speak lightly of a portion of our accessions, as proper contributions to the paper stock of the manufacturer, do not realize that the paper maker and his foraging emissaries, the tin pedlers, are natural foes of the collectors of rare and curious literature. We have sometimes rescued from their grasp matters so valuable as our own publications; and so frequently do choice productions of the press, ancient or modern, pass from inappreciative owners or custodians to the rag gatherer's bag, that a class of middlemen has arisen who find it profitable to intercept these accumulations on their way to the mill and subject them to careful scrutiny. It is part of the duty of librarians to prevent, if possible, the loss of anything that may throw light upon the facts or popular sentiments which constitute history, to give to small things, as well as large, their place and appropriate position of use and influence.

These quiet operations are almost as undistinguished and undistinguishable as those of the insect builders of the Coral Islands, and not less do they result in solid and permanent formations, whose strata will yield to the future student instructive fossils of thought and opinion belonging to different generations and different stages of development. In this department of what may be termed *productive* archæology, the laying down, as it were, of *remains*, to be discovered and appreciated hereafter (a process very different from that of creating an ordinary library), our Society led the way in this country. Whatever it may, or may not, have done in other lines of appropriate service, it has, in this direction, pursued the even tenor of its way without remissness or faltering.

It has thus illustrated the practical good sense of its founder, who saw that the first element of *durability* was the proprietorship of a fixed and suitable repository for its collections, to be also the centre of its acts and agencies; and, secondly, the establishment of a fund, which, though moderate, should serve to sustain its vitality independently of all uncertain resources. Its work, and perhaps its most important work, has consequently been uninterrupted, although its publications have been made at greater intervals of time than is desirable. We have not always been able to print, for want of funds to pay the cost; but we have always been able to collect and distribute information at the head-quarters of our institution. The Society has all the while been taking root and strengthening its substance, and, by and by, will bear fruit more abundantly. It began by laying the foundations of aboriginal archæology, in the earliest volumes of its transactions—the first treating of the remains of extinct races discovered through the country, and particularly in the great valley of the Mississippi; the second presenting a classification of existing native tribes according to linguistic affinity, with vocabularies and other aids to comparison. The next two volumes were more purely historical, while the Catalogue of the Library, issued in 1837, was an example of a mode of public use which is most grateful to scholars, but most burdensome to an institution of limited means. Coming at that period, when such catalogues, and especially catalogues of such materials, were rare, its great convenience and value have continued to be felt and admitted to the present day. It is unfortunate that advantages so important to the community as are good catalogues, should tax so severely, and without adequate remuneration, the physical and financial resources of libraries.

The fifth and sixth volumes of *Archæologia*, which have been gradually carried forward without any extra provision of labor or money, are now nearly completed. They consist of a revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Thomas's History of the American Press, with a list of its publications, so far as ascertained, from its commencement to the Revolution of 1776. This combination of history and bibliography may well enough be classed under the head of literary or intellectual *archæology*, as partaking largely of the obscurity and uncertainty which belong to antiquarian research.

An account of Printers, Printing, and Publications, from the settlement of the country to the period of its independence as a nation, was a conception suited to the tastes of an antiquary, and worthy of the then future President of this Society, to whose Transactions it now has, with material additions and improvements, become a most appropriate contribution. The Catalogue, as prepared, would alone, upon ordinary type, make a volume of four or five hundred pages. It is all that yet remains unfinished. It has been found necessary to adopt a smaller size of letter, and to somewhat reduce the titles, in order to connect it with the second part of the History without too much increasing its bulk. The printing of this ultimate portion of the work is going forward as rapidly as is practicable. The first volume we have the satisfaction of laying before the Society to-day. The second, we trust, will not long be delayed. It will be rather larger than the first, but only one convenient point of division presented itself, and the difference may not be greater than exists between the two volumes of the first edition.

We are making special efforts to recover as many copies

of the Society's Proceedings as possible, which have been issued to persons who do not care to preserve them ; and, also, to purchase odd numbers when the opportunity occurs. We need all that can be obtained to aid in completing series, for which there are frequent inquiries. They may, moreover, be used very profitably in our exchanges, and thus gradually repay the draft upon our small fund of publication. It has been found advantageous to print lists of the Society's Transactions and Proceedings, with prices annexed, for the convenience of dealers and correspondents. We cannot supply all of these, but do the best we can when application is made for them. There are some that might be reprinted with advantage, and we have now the manuscript of the characteristic address of Dr. Bentley, which has never been printed at all.

Respectfully submitted,

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge. — His Brief Memoir of James Savage, LL.D.

Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Charlestown. — His Oration, delivered before the city government and citizens of Boston, July 4, 1874.

Rev. R. C. WATERSTON, Boston. — His Remarks at the Agassiz Memorial meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History; fourteen photographs of Indians; and one pamphlet.

EDWARD JARVIS, M.D., Dorchester. — His Essay on the Political Economy of Health.

Commodore GEO. H. PREBLE, U. S. N. — His "Garrison Houses of York, Me."; and his Memorial to the forty-third Congress.

CHARLES C. JONES, Jr., Esq., New York. — "The Siege of Savannah, in 1779, as described in two contemporaneous journals of French officers in the fleet of Count d'Estaing," with an introduction by Mr. Jones.

Hon. INCREASE A. LAPHAM, Milwaukee, Wis. — Three of his maps of Milwaukee; and twenty-four pamphlets.

Rev. F. W. CHAPMAN, Rocky Hill, Conn. — His "Coit Family, or the Descendants of John Coit."

RICHARD L. PEASE, Esq., Edgartown. — His report on the Indians of Gay Head.

ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose. — His "Early Bells of Massachusetts."

H. F. PHINNEY, Esq., Cooperstown, N. Y. — His paper on Local Historians; and one lithograph.

JOSEPH GRIFFIN, Esq., Brunswick, Me. — His supplement to the History of the Press of Maine, with complete indexes.

ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL, Buffalo, N. Y. — His "First Visit of De La Salle to the Senecas in 1669."

C. J. F. BINNEY, Esq., Boston. — His "History and Genealogy of the Prentice or Prentiss Family in New England, from 1631 to 1852."

JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., Boston. — His Article on the first folio edition of Shakespeare, 1623.

- M. CHARLES WEINER**, Paris, Fr. — His *Essai sur les Institutions Politiques, Religieuses, Economiques et Sociales de l'Empire des Incas*.
- Geo. CHAMBERS**, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — His Report as Registrar of the Board of Health, of the City and Port of Philadelphia.
- HARRIS. H. BARTOW**, M.D., New York. — His Remarks on a Stone bearing a Hebrew Inscription, found in an American Mound; and a History of the Stone by N. Roe Bradner, Jr., M.D., of Philadelphia.
- Hon. FRANK JILSON**, Worcester. — His Address to the Graduating Class of the High School; an Indian pestle, found near North Spencer, and five books, and seventy-five pamphlets, largely historical.
- J. W. POTNAM**, Esq., Salem. — Twelve of his own papers upon various Historical and Scientific Subjects.
- Hon. CHARLES DRYDEN**, Jr., Worcester. — His Oration on General Meade and the Battle of Gettysburg; and the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.
- HENRY AMMIDOWN**, Esq., New York. — His Historical Collections, in two vols.
- F. FREEMAN**, Esq., St. Paul, Minn. — His "Historical Memoir on Ireland and her Oppressors."
- Mrs. EMERSON H. GILMAN**, Cambridge. — Her "Recollections of the Private Centennial Celebration of the Overthrow of the Tea in Boston Harbor, Dec. 16, 1773, in honor of Samuel Howard, one of the actors."
- HENRY A. GUNN**, M.D., Boston. — Twenty-four books; one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets; and four volumes of newspapers.
- H. T. GUNY ARNDEN**, Worcester. — Thirty-five books; five hundred and fifty-two pamphlets, and two maps.
- WILLIAM L. LEE**, Esq., Worcester. — Seven books, one hundred and thirty-five pamphlets, the Christian Union, in continuation; numbers of the Christian Union, and clippings.
- H. C. KOWAL**, M.D., Salem. — Three pamphlets.
- H. C. KOWAL**, Esq., Worcester. — Ten books, nine pamphlets, and a large number of those published in the Confederate States; and six hundred pamphlets, and six files of newspapers.
- PAUL H. LEE**, Esq., Albany, N. Y. — One book and ten pamphlets.
- PAUL H. LEE**, Esq., Newark, O. — Two pamphlets; and two newspapers, containing historical matter.
- LESLIE F. LORING**, Esq., Dover Plains, N. Y. — The American Historical Record for Vol. 1862, and April, 1873.
- H. C. LORING**, Esq., Boston. — Four pamphlets, with letters, newspapers, and other early data.
- JOHN L. LORING**, Esq., H. Loring, Pa. — Seven hundred and twenty-five and fifty-seven pamphlets, and one map.

- Hon. FRANCIS H. DEWEY, Worcester. — Nineteen books; and three hundred and twenty-nine pamphlets.
- JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York. — The "Scott Centenary Exhibition"; "What is Darwinism?"; and two pamphlets.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester. — One lithograph; and a collection of handbills.
- J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston. — A photograph of an early title page; and four rebellion envelopes.
- HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — An early edition of the New England Primer; and an article on Ancient Buried Cities.
- THE LIBRARIAN. — One war token; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS, Washington, D. C. — The Register of the Department of State, 1874.
- ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O. — "The Seventh Reunion of the Army of the Cumberland."
- Hon. THOMAS H. WYNNE, Richmond, Va. — The Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, Va., 1730-1773.
- Mrs. C. J. BOWEN, Tiverton, R. I. — A Cannon ball, which was thrown through the attic of the Gilman house, Charleston, S. C., in April, 1861; and an autograph letter of Major General Sherman, dated June 30, 1864.
- Rev. C. F. P. BANCROFT, Andover. — Two Phillips Academy pamphlets.
- HENRY J. HOWLAND, Esq., Worcester. — One book; and one hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets.
- Mrs. THOMAS EARLE, Worcester. — The National Era, 1851-54, four vols.; and one volume of the Congressional Globe.
- Mrs. MOSES SPOONER, Worcester. — The Worcester County Republican, 1829-36, five vols.
- JAMES GREEN, Esq., Worcester. — Parcels of the Boston Daily and Semi-Weekly Advertiser, New York World, and Chicago Tribune, 1865-74.
- Miss SARAH F. EARLE, Worcester. — Thirty numbers of the Atlantic Monthly.
- RODNEY WALLACE, Esq., Fitchburg. — Nine volumes of Boston newspapers, 1803-18.
- T. W. WELLINGTON, Esq., Worcester. — Nine books and one pamphlet, all Massachusetts State Documents.
- Rev. W. S. PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y. — Five pamphlets.
- Mr. CHARLES HADWEN, Worcester. — One book; and a framed photograph of Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands.

- J. F. D. GARFIELD, Esq., Fitchburg.** — Various numbers of the Fitchburg Sentinel, 1842-59, to assist in completing files.
- Rev. E. H. HALL, Worcester.** — One hundred and thirty nine books; and three hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets.
- Messrs. GROUT & PUTNAM, Worcester.** — Sixteen books; and five pamphlets.
- Mr. JOHN G. SMITH, Worcester.** — Eleven books; eighty pamphlets; fifty-one plates; and seventeen maps.
- Hon. GEORGE W. RICHARDSON, Worcester.** — Three books; and twenty-six pamphlets.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.** — Thirty-nine pamphlets.
- Mr. E. D. McFARLAND, Worcester.** — Manuscript letters relating to the Newhall Family, of Leicester.
- Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester.** — Eight pamphlets; and three autographs.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster.** — Leominster town reports, 1872-3; and six pamphlets.
- W. J. POTTS, Esq., Camden, N. J.** — Two books; and seven pamphlets.
- THE FAMILY OF THE LATE MRS. JOHN DAVIS.** — Four hundred and sixteen books; eleven maps; two charts; two engravings; and twelve pictures in frames.
- Prof. FRANCIS J. CHILD, Cambridge.** — Harvard Memorial Biographies, two vols., 1867.
- Mr. THEODORE H. BARTLETT, Worcester.** — An English Bible of 1706.
- Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Ipswich.** — An Account of the Ordination of Rev. Phebe A. Hannaford.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester.** — City Document, No. 28.
- Mrs. IRA M. BARTON, Worcester.** — The Worcester Directory for 1869.
- Geo. B. UPTON, Esq., Boston.** — The Upton Memorial.
- ABRAM E. CUTTER, Esq., Charlestown.** — The Works of Anne Bradstreet, in prose and verse, fourteen pamphlets; and one lithograph.
- JOHN G. TIFFANY, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.** — One engraving.
- HENRY HUBBARD, Esq., Boston.** — Eight Indian Arrow heads, from Bedford Co., Va.
- Mr. G. S. ALLIS, Worcester.** — A Sketch of the Life of Judge Basil Harrison, of Kalamazoo, Mich.
- Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Leicester.** — Twenty-five pamphlets; and three files of newspapers.
- FRANK B. FAY, Esq., Secretary S. P. C. A.** — Volume six entire, and various odd Nos. of "Our Dumb Animals," to complete files.
- N. A. LOMBARD, Esq., Worcester.** — The reprint of the Spy of May 3, 1775.

- Rev. C. D. BRADLEE, Boston. — One pamphlet; two photographs; and a counterfeit bill of 1824.
- Dea. E. F. DUREN, Sec'y, Bangor, Me. — Minutes of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches of Maine, 1874.
- Mr. ARTHUR M. HICKOX, San Francisco, Cal. — A copy of the first Chinese newspaper printed in America; and one pamphlet.
- Messrs. COOK, SON AND JENKINS, New York. — The Excursionist, as issued.
- Mr. E. STEIGER, New York. — His Literarische Berichte, as issued.
- Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co., Paris, Fr. — Their Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. — Their Bulletin, as issued.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE. — Their Memoirs, Vol. 34.
- THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections for the Year 1870.
- THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. — Their Memoirs, Vol. XI.
- THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA. — Their Journal N. S., Vol. VIII., part 1; and Proceedings, part 1, 1874.
- THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. — Their Proceedings, Vol. IX.
- THE PEABODY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE. — The Sixth Annual Report.
- THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Collections, Vol. XII., parts I. and II.; and Bulletin, Vol. 6, Nos. 3-6.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. — Their Proceedings, Vol. XVIII., Nos. 1-3.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, No. 92.
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE. — The Canadian Journal, Vol. XIV., No. 3.
- THE N. E. HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — The Register, as issued.
- THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, Vol. III., Part 2.
- THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Publications, No. 1, new series.
- THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. — One historical pamphlet.
- THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY. — The seventh annual report of the Trustees.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, Vol. III., No. 4.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ AMÉRICAINNE DE FRANCE. — Their Annual for 1873.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES. — Their Journal, July, 1873—May, 1874.

THE PRANNEY INSTITUTE IN BALTIMORE, MD. — The Seventh Annual Report of the Pranner to the Trustees.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OBERLIN AND HINCHMAN. — Their Journal for 1874.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON. — Their Archaeologia, Vol. 44, part 2, and Vol. 44, part 1; and Proceedings, Vol. 6, No. 2.

THE WINCHESTER FINE SOCIETY. — Reminiscences of past members, in addresses by Judge Thomas and Col. Davis.

THE HENRY HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION. — Their Proceedings for 1874 and 1875.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY. — Their Communications, Vol. 31, No. VIII.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — Their Transactions for the year 1874, part 1.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS. — Their Bulletin, Vol. V., No. 1.

THE MASS CHURCH LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS. — Their Proceedings June, 1874.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION. — The annual reports, 1874, two hundred and eighty-four pamphlets; and twenty-nine files of newspapers.

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE CO. — Their record, as issued.

THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST TRUTH SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND. — The History of the Sabbath and First Day of the week.

THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO. — Their thirty-eighth annual report, and one pamphlet.

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE. — Their thirty-sixth annual report.

THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY. — Their fifty-eighth annual report.

THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION. — Their twenty-first annual report.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION. — Their magazine, as issued.

THE WORCESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY. — One hundred and twenty-three pamphlets.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The fourteenth annual report; two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; and fifty-two files of newspapers.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — The annual report, 1874, and two files of newspapers.

THE BOSTON ATHLETIC COLLEGE of the Library, Part 1, A-C.

SAN FRANCISCO MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. — A catalogue of the Library.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. — The fifty-sixth annual report; and three State documents.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The twenty-second annual report; and the Bulletin, Nos. 29 and 30.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The second annual report.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — The list of additions, January to July, 1874.

THE NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. — Their fifty-third annual report.

THE INDIANAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The first annual report.

THE BALTIMORE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. — Their thirty-fourth annual report.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY. — The twenty-fifth annual report.

YALE COLLEGE. — Three college pamphlets.

HARVARD COLLEGE. — The triennial catalogue of 1872.

AMHERST COLLEGE. — Nine college pamphlets.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE. — The seventy-second annual catalogue.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. — One hundred and twenty-one volumes of public documents.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. — The U. S. Astronomical and Meteorological Observations, made during the year 1871.

THE U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. — Circular of Information, No. 1, 1874.

THE U. S. CHIEF OF ENGINEERS. — One book; and one pamphlet.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their fifth annual report.

THE STATE OF OHIO. — Nine volumes of State Documents.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Laws passed at the June Session, 1874.

THE CITY OF BOSTON. — The Sumner Memorial.

THE WORCESTER SCHOOL BOARD. — Photographs of Worcester School Houses and other institutions; and a Worcester Educational Chart, 1873.

THE WASHBURN & MOEN MANUFACTURING CO. — A coil of wire cord for use in the portrait gallery.

THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK. — Parcels of the N. Y. Evening Post, and Commercial Bulletin, 1874.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK. — Six Nos. of the Bank Note Reporter.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Their Journal, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF OLD AND NEW. — Their Magazine for September, 1870, April, 1871, and December, 1872.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY ST. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BAREE GAZETTE. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE REPORTER. — Their paper, as issued.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Their Journal, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF OLD AND NEW. — Their Magazine for September, 1870, April, 1871, and December, 1872.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE REPORTER. — Their paper, as issued.

No. 64.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 28, 1875.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1875.

No 64.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 28, 1872



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PUBLISHER OFFICE
1872



Am. Ant. Soc.
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 28, 1875.



WORCESTER.
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.

1875



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	69
DONORS AND DONATIONS	78
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	87



PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 28, 1875, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The records of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY read the report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual reports.

All the above were adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The Council recommended for membership: Prof. Otto Keller, of Switzerland; Hubert Howe Bancroft, of San Francisco; Rev. Edward H. Hall, of Worcester; Albert H. Hoyt, of Boston. And they were, by ballot, elected members of the Society.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE briefly referred to the evidences that Sir Francis Drake saw and entered the Golden Gate of California.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL said: The christian name of the Reverend Mr. Glover, whom Thomas (History of Printing, I. 222) honors as "Father of the American Press," has

this petition, in which this name is repeated (p. 355, doc. 45).

It seemed worth while to relieve Mr. Glover of some of these aliases. The donor of New England's first printing press deserves at least to be named without an erratum. For *Joseph* the authorities are the printed extracts from the College Records, and the Sutton inscription printed by Manning & Bray. Mr. Sibley, having at my request examined the MS. Record of Donations quoted by Peirce and Quincy, gives me the extract *literatim* :

“Mr. *Joss*: Glover gave to the College a ffont of printing letters.”

Mr. Sibley has also sent me several extracts from papers in the Court Files of Middlesex county, relating to the settlement of Mrs. Dunster's (formerly Mrs. Glover's) estate, in 1656, in which the name is written ‘Josse’, and once, ‘Joss’, but nowhere ‘Joseph’.

Thomas Lechford, in his professional Journal, made copies of two instruments drawn for Mrs. Glover's signature, in which the name also appears as ‘Josse’, and in one instance as ‘Joas’.

Suspecting that Manning and Bray had taken the same liberty in copying the inscription on the monument erected by Mr. Glover to his first wife, as had been taken in printing extracts from the college records, I applied to the present rector of Sutton, a well known scholar and antiquary, the Rev. John A. Giles, D.D. He very obligingly complied with my request, by informing me that the name on the monument is “Jos. Glover”—not “Joseph,” and that the entry in the register, of which he sends me a certified copy, is *Jose*. This entry is as follows :

“Henry Wyshe being a Nonregent Maister of Arts in the University

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Their Journal, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF OLD AND NEW. — Their Magazine for September, 1870, April, 1871, and December, 1872.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. — Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE REPORTER. — Their paper, as issued.

Nº 64.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 24, 1875.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1875.



Proceedings
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 28, 1875.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE
1875.

11

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	69
DONORS AND DONATIONS	78
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	87

of the Prince Manuscript Catalogue, and the Catalogue of the Prince Library, which furnish important aid.

The first of the two volumes is appropriately preceded by a memoir of Dr. Thomas, by his grandson, our Vice President, Benjamin Franklin Thomas, LL.D., who, in the light of a kindred spirit, has painted the energy and the good service of his distinguished ancestor. This first volume is completed, and the second only waits for the fullest perfection, that the unsparing labor of Mr. Haven can give to a list of American Books printed before the American Revolution. Dr. Thomas began this work in lists and memoranda left in a disordered and imperfect state. Dr. Samuel Foster Haven, Jr., the son of our Librarian, a good scholar, and a young man of great promise, who gave his life in his professional duty at the battle of Fredericksburg, arranged, corrected, verified and greatly enlarged this list. New matter has been found for correction and enlargement which Mr. Haven has applied with great labor, and has thus prepared a thesaurus of unique character and of the highest interest. The Society is also indebted to Hon. John R. Bartlett, of Rhode Island, for an account of early books, printed in Spanish America.

The acquisitions of the Library are equal in quantity and value to the average of the later years. The number of the bound volumes is 593, and there are 4023 pamphlets, and 150 files of newspapers, and many maps, photographs, and other objects of historical value. The Society will recognize the skill and perseverance of Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, in preparing and completing the exchange of duplicates for works of great value, as well as in the prompt and patient aid, which he renders to those who

desire to make investigations. The Library has been in active use by many visitors, who have expressed their satisfaction with the facilities of research and the information which they obtained.

The Society must be carried on as it was formed by Dr. Thomas and his associates, on the most liberal range of utility. The American members are limited in number and they must be located through the length and breadth of this continent. There are no other honorary members than those who honor themselves in their relation to the Society. There are no privileges of membership but the implied obligation and more frequent opportunities of service, while the benefits are offered to all.

It is a wise custom of this Society to give deserved honor to members whose service has been terminated by death, and to seek to be profited by the lessons of their lives. You had the honor to enroll as a member, George Finlay, LL.D., who is eulogized in Europe as the ablest historian of modern Greece. He died in Athens on the 26th day of January last. There is a strange want of information in regard to the birth and parentage of a man personally so well known. From several notices we learn only, that he belongs to a respectable family in Scotland, and was born probably in one of the first years of this century. It is said he is the last survivor of the enthusiastic young men who, in 1823, followed Lord Byron to fight for the regeneration of Greece. When he found his object could not be attained by fighting, he sought to accomplish it by more efficient influences. He settled in the country and made every effort to improve it. He was too earnest to be conciliating, and he was engaged in personal disputes

I was not popular; yet, in the frequent changes of
 vernment, and the rise and fall of politicians in Greece,
 probable that "no one, native or foreigner, was
 in more respect than Mr. Finlay." He was a labo-
 r, spirited and voluminous writer. "Different in every
 it as were the two men in position and temper
 e of study, far more widely spread as the fame of
 s than the fame of the other, still he who wishes to
 r the history of the Greek nation as a whole, can as
 le dispense with Mr. Finlay as he can with Mr. Grote."
 r. Finlay went to Greece as a man of action and not as a
 scholar. There is something heroic in his literary career.
 ' Away from his own country and his name but little known,
 ut off from many of the resources open to scholars in Ger-
 many or England, he put forth volume after volume on an
 unpopular subject, and toiled on, cheered only by the con-
 sciousness that he was doing a great work." "By scholars
 he will be known as the man who has rescued two thousand
 years of the history of one side of the civilized world from
 undeserved contempt and oblivion." Mr. Finlay was lost to
 this Society 36 years ago by an unintended estrangement.
 He was elected a member in 1838. For more than 27 years
 this Society regarded him as one, who had not fulfilled the
 expectation with which he was associated, and for the same
 period he supposed that his offered service was not desired.
 On February 14, 1866, the officers of this Society received
 a package directed to them, which was found with 118 MSS.,
 documents belonging to the city of Boston, among the
 property of a deceased merchant. The package contained
 a letter from Mr. Finlay, asking to be informed how he
 could serve the Society, and a copy of his admirable essay

on the Battle of Marathon, illustrated by local survey and learned research. When the package was received by the Society, an ample explanation was sent to Mr. Finlay. But good will, that is chilled by supposed neglect, can rarely be restored to vital warmth by explanations and apologies.

This Society has occasion to lament the loss of another member, more active in its service, Hon. Thomas Hicks Wynne. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, January 22, 1820. Descended on the one side from an old colonial Virginia family, and on the other from the Hardys of North Carolina, he was left fatherless at the age of 14 years, in straightened circumstances, with a family dependent upon him for support. Mr. Wynne began real life at this age as an apprentice in a machine shop, and ended it in the Senate of his native State. He is said to have devoted all his leisure moments to the improvement of his education, and to have commonly eaten his dinner with a book in his hand. His antiquarian taste manifested itself at this time in his selection of many articles of curious interest from the masses of metal which came in his way. From the machine shop he entered a foundry, of which he became manager; and this situation he left for the superintendence of the city gas works, in 1859. He was instrumental in forming the Franklin Literary Society, instituted for the purpose of mental improvement and practise in elocution. From this time his course was one continued lesson of what may be accomplished by self-reliance and industry. In 1861 he was elected to the Legislature, in 1866 he was again returned to that body, and his election to the Senate took place in 1872. He occupied at different periods of his life the position of president of the Common Council, president of the

Iron Works, president and superintendent of the
 and Petersburg Railroad, and treasurer of the
 Telegraph Company, serving in each capacity with
 which made him a marked man in the community.

was firm and reserved in his manner to strangers, but
 and congenial friend to associates. The truth
 of his nature made him agreeable to all, high
 w, black and white; he was always ready to help the
 , and ever turned a willing ear to their trials and suffer-

The motto which he adopted for his coat of arms was
 "scere eat vivere," and so great was his appreciation of
 of time that he had little sympathy or patience
 with simply idle and frivolous, because he deemed such
 a waste of time criminal.

Mr. Wynn's taste in literature and art was of the purest
 order, and in spite of the demand upon his time, the cultiva-
 tion of his mind was his highest ambition. He began the
 study of Virginia history early in life, and it remained a
 passion with him to the last. As corresponding secretary of
 the Virginia Historical Society he was the life of the organi-
 zation. It was principally through his exertions that the
 work of publishing the archives of the State was recently
 begun, and as a member of the Library Committee he was
 instrumental in adding rare books and pictures to the State
 collection of MSS. He enjoyed the confidence and esteem
 of the best literary talent of the State, and as an authority
 in questions of Virginia history was always appealed to.
 He was a valued contributor to the Southern Literary Mes-
 senger, and his history of Mason and Dixon's line, which
 appeared in 1859, attracted much attention. Among his
 contributions in the book form, which were furnished at his

own expense, were "Wynne's Historical Documents, from the Old Dominion," consisting of the Williamsburg Orderly Book, the Westover manuscripts, a memorial of the Bolling Family of England, and the Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, with an account of St. John Church. He also contributed "The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning" to North Carolina literature, and "Historical Documents relating to the old North State."

Mr. Wynne constantly caused to be photographed, at his own expense, objects of Antiquarian and Historical interest, which he generously distributed in such quarters, as might ensure their preservation. He was a frequent writer for the daily press, and was the last owner of the Richmond Examiner before its consolidation with the Enquirer and Sentinel.

His death, which occurred February 24, 1875, was the occasion of eulogistic remarks and resolutions in both branches of the Virginia Legislature, of which he was a member, and of a memorial paper on the part of the Virginia Historical Society, besides numerous elaborate notices in the local newspapers. To these tributes of respect, and especially to a brief sketch of his life by Richard F. Walker, Esq., of Richmond, Va., superintendent of public printing, we are indebted for the information we are able to communicate. "His noble example abides as an incentive to the poor and struggling as that of one who, without the advantages attainable by wealth or family influence, and without the benefit of thorough mental training in early life, nevertheless, by energy, integrity, fidelity and self-culture, won his way to the affectionate regards of all who knew him, and to the highest confidence of the public."

Both before and after his election as a member of this

he contributed liberally to our library, by sending
 mes of his own publications, and historical documents
 re to Virginia history.

Society is called *American* to indicate its first object
 of tion, and the point of view from which the antiquary
 is ected to direct his survey. It is, however, not
 usual and entirely proper to consider in these reports the
 elopments of history even beyond the bounds of this
 ent.

re is not, at this time, any kind of research that engages
 the attention of scholars with more curiosity and more diver-
 sity of opinion, than the spade culture of history. It is car-
 ried on with increasing system and energy in every quarter of
 the globe. The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology,
 a young and vigorous co-worker with this Society for one of
 our objects, the discovery of the character and condition of
 the Aborigines of this country, gathers in this way a rich
 and well winnowed harvest. The recovery of relics from
 the accumulated *débris* in ancient Rome is interesting to
 you, not only for the discoveries in history and art, but also
 because of the participation in the work of that distin-
 guished scholar, Signor Visconti, who accepted membership
 in this Society with a cordial promise of service. A recent
 letter from our associate, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, gives
 the pleasant information that Signor Visconti intends soon
 to fulfil his promise. The enterprises at Ephesus and Jeru-
 salem will hereafter receive your attention.

But these explorations at home and abroad will be over-
 looked for one, that is freshly presented with equal interest
 and greater completeness, the reported discovery of the site
 of Ancient Troy and the treasures of King Priam, by Dr.

Heinrich Schliemann. The account of this, under the title of *Trojanische Alterthümer*, published in German, in the beginning of the year 1874, by Dr. Schliemann, was followed by a great variety of learned criticism and suggestion; and within the last two months we have an English translation of the original account with some changes, made by Philip Smith, B.A., a publisher of ancient histories, "WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANCTION." The translation is entitled "*Troy and its Remains*." Mr. Smith says the criticisms called forth in England and on the continent, during the one year after the first publication, are an earnest of a war of "more than ten years duration." But he does, not unkindly, add, that the examination of remains of the contest will be like the labor of Dr. Schliemann. While this subject is recent, and occupies much attention, it may be permitted to take notice of some peculiar features of the evidence, and to offer some thoughts connected with them. And the Society will be happy to remember, that, in the reports of the Council, the writer only is responsible for speculations that go beyond the statement of the condition of the Society.

The first question is, by whom and in what manner was the reported discovery made? From an autobiographical notice it appears that Heinrich Schliemann was born in 1822, at Kalkhorst, in Mecklinburg-Schwerin. He says, "As soon as I could learn to speak, my father related to me the great deeds of the Homeric heroes. I loved these stories; they enchanted me and transported me with the highest enthusiasm. At the age of ten I presented to my father, as a Christmas gift, a badly written essay upon the principal events of the Trojan war and the adventures of Ulysses and Agamemnon. It was my lot, at the age of fourteen, to

be apprenticed in a small shop, where I was employed for five years in retailing herrings, butter, brandy, milk and salt, and in labor about the shop. I only came into contact with the lower classes of society. I had not a moment free for study. Moreover, I rapidly forgot the little I had learnt in my childhood; but I did not lose my love of learning. I shall never forget the evening when a drunken Miller, the son of a protestant Clergyman, who had almost completed his studies at the Gymnasium when he was expelled, came into the shop and recited about one hundred lines of Homer, observing the rythmic cadence. Although I did not understand a word, the melodious speech made a deep impression upon me, and I wept bitter tears for my unhappy fate. Thrice I got him to repeat to me those god-like verses, paying him with three glasses of brandy, which I bought with the few pence that made up my whole fortune. From that moment I never ceased to pray God, that by his grace, I might yet have the happiness to learn Greek."

He was relieved from this shop by a hurt in his chest, caused by lifting a heavy cask. He spat blood and was no longer able to work. After this he suffered shipwreck and other disastrous chances, until a kind friend obtained for him a sort of clerkship, with an annual salary of £32. He lived miserably on half of this salary and devoted the other half to his studies. He says, "I applied myself with extraordinary diligence to the study of English. Necessity showed me a method, which greatly facilitated the study of the language. This method consists in reading a great deal aloud without making a translation; devoting one hour every day in writing essays upon subjects that interest one, correcting those under a teacher's supervision, learning them by heart and repeating

in the next lesson what was corrected in the previous day. My memory was bad, since from my childhood it had not been exercised upon any object; but I made use of every moment. In half a year I had succeeded in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English language." He applied the same method to the study of French and overcame the difficulties of it in another six months. In less time he was able to write and speak fluently in Dutch, Spanish, Italian and Portugese. By his method, without a teacher, he learned the Russian language, and in the course of six weeks he wrote his first Russian letter to a Russian in London, and was able to converse fluently in that language with Russian merchants. This increased his compensation and gave him the employment of agent at St. Petersburg. After a year he established a mercantile house on his own account. His business was prosperous, but he says, "Great as was my wish to learn Greek, I did not venture upon its study till I had acquired a moderate fortune. I at last set vigorously to work at Greek with Mr. N. Pappadakes, and then with Mr. Th. Vinpos of Athens, always following my old method. It did not take me more than six weeks to master the difficulties of modern Greek; and I then applied myself to the ancient language, of which, in three months, I learned sufficient to understand some of the ancient authors, and especially Homer, whom I read and re-read with the most lively enthusiasm."

Such a facility of learning languages is a gift which few men possess. The method that Dr. Schliemann calls his own, and which he considers to be his great advantage, seems to consist in committing to memory many passages of the language, and writing his own thoughts in it, not

occasionally, but frequently and almost continuously, with no more use of the grammar than was necessary to show the relation of the words. That this is substantially Dr. Schliemann's method, appears to be the opinion of a learned writer in the *London Quarterly Review*,* who has given an account of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries, that is replete with classic lore and fresh suggestions. He says, "To this point we would direct special attention, believing as we do, that the first and most needful key to all questions about Homer is a deep and familiar knowledge of the text, such knowledge, which was the great glory of our old English scholarship, has been perhaps too much neglected in the recent times of scientific criticism. No amount of writing about the classic authors, even in the latest German treatises, can compensate for an imperfect knowledge of the authors themselves; and more than this, the want of such knowledge unfits the scholar from being an independent judge of the criticism, which he so eagerly follows. Among the services rendered by Mr. Gladstone to Homeric studies, none is greater than the earnestness with which he insists on this knowledge of the text, which his own example so well illustrates."†

Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, in an address on the Elective System in Colleges, delivered before the Educational Association, in August, 1874, takes notice of the inevitable fact, that the change in the teaching of Latin and Greek that prevails in Europe, has reached the Colleges of America. He says of our colleges fifty years ago, "The classical languages were studied indeed and in a certain sense more efficiently than now; for the chief aim was to

* April, 1874. † Ibid. p. 284.

make the student conversant with the mind of the author he read, and a larger proportion of life-long readers of the classics was trained under the former than under the present system; but for minute grammatical and philological study — if the fit teachers existed, which is very doubtful — there certainly was not the requisite apparatus accessible to the student." The wise Professor adds no censure and expresses no regret, but leaves this important truth, as he leaves his moral instructions, to have a proper influence on the good sense that he has awakened. What greater good can be got from a language than the thought, the meaning which it contains. A diet of dry bones of grammar cannot satisfy a vigorous and growing intellect. The teachers of Greek in our age are learned above the degree of their predecessors, and their instructions make a few accurate scholars. But it is too often seen that they direct more attention to the machinery of language than to the closeness and spirit of translations. The larger number of scholars do not continue in mature life a reading, that was never pleasant, and after engaging in active business for five years, they retain little more than accents and quantities, and the refinement, that is produced by the atmosphere of learning. Hence we hear the unfounded complaint, that boys learn too much Greek, and the literature of the language is not respected as it was one hundred years ago. The method of Dr. Schliemann is the same that is commonly used in learning modern languages, with the important addition of abundance of writing, which, as Lord Bacon teaches, "maketh an exact man." It will be said that Dr. Schliemann is not a scholar, and is a poor product of his boasted method. The justice of these reproaches need not be discussed here. He is

noticed with respect by the learned, and he has done a good work in rousing teachers of this age to an improved and more liberal culture.

After Dr. Schliemann began to be rich, he made visits connected with his business to many countries, including Egypt, where he learned the Arabic language. He says, "Heaven had blessed my mercantile undertakings in a wonderful manner, so that at the end of 1863 I found myself in possession of a fortune, such as my ambition had never ventured to aspire to. I therefore retired from business, in order to devote myself exclusively to the studies which have the greatest fascination for me. At last I was able to realize the dream of my whole life and to visit at my leisure the scene of those events which had such an interest for me, and the country of the heroes whose adventures had delighted and comforted my childhood." Dr. Schliemann began his search for Troy in the Troad in 1871, on the hill Hissarlik, whose name, meaning tower or fortress, was an encouragement. He carried on his excavations in the practicable seasons of three years, almost or entirely without the cooperation or inspection of any persons but his wife and the Grecian and Turkish laborers that he hired. His wife, an Athenian lady, shared his tastes and his studies and was present at the work from morning to night. When the finding of the deposit of gold and silver articles, which has been called "King Priam's Treasure," was indicated, "to save it from the greed of the workmen," he ordered them all to depart for breakfast, though the time had not come. While they were absent he cut out the treasure with a large knife, with the greatest exertion and the most fearful risk of life; for the wall, beneath which he dug, threatened every moment

to fall upon him. He adds, "It would have been impossible for me to remove the treasure without the help of my dear wife, who stood ready to pack the things I cut out in her shawl to carry them away." The malaria affected their health, so that they took four grains of quinine every morning as a precaution. Frequent fevers and other diseases occurred among the laborers. He had constant embarrassment, loss and fatigue, from the frauds and unfaithfulness of his laborers and other undesirable occurrences. His expenditure is spoken of as enormous, and it is apparent that it was very large. At the beginning of the year 1874 he made his report of the product of all these labors and sufferings in the octavo volume in the German language, containing a sort of journal with explanations and discussions, accompanied by a large atlas of views, maps and plans and 217 photographic plates of 4000 objects selected from the 100,000 which he brought to light. A descriptive list of these objects is also given. The photographs are made from drawings and it is said that "Dr. Schliemann was the first to acknowledge, that their execution left much to be desired."

The question, what has been discovered by Dr. Schliemann, would receive a ready and appropriate answer in a reference to his volume, now within your reach. But his statements are necessarily so mixed up with defense against criticism, that they provoke more discussions than they settle. It may help on these discussions toward their result, if unprejudiced eyes shall look at the prominent features that are exhibited. The worthy and professed object of Dr. Schliemann was not to find curiosities, but to find the site of ancient Troy, the sacred Ilium of Homer. At the first step

he found himself in the midst of a topographical war, which has increased in numbers and activity. It is an embarrassment to readers, that the Doctor feels obliged to contend with one hand, while he describes with the other. The first attack was from the position of Demetrius of Skepsis, born 190 B. C., who is supported by Strabo, who followed more than 200 years after. It is objected that the elevated plateau of Hisarlık, to which tradition and general belief pointed as the true locality, was too small for the population, and unsuitable especially for the thrice repeated race around the walls of Troy. The location offered in preference to Hisarlık is the small village of Ilium, which has never had any considerable party in its favor. In 1778 M. Lechevalier brought forward the claims of the heights of Bunarbashi to this historic glory, and the number of distinguished scholars in England, France and Germany, that support these claims, is large.* Our learned Prof. Felton, and Prof. Forchhammer and Lord Carlisle, after ample local examination, agree that Bunarbashi is the place.† When Dr. Schliemann, with shallow digging, reached the virgin soil with no *débris* at the Village of Ilium and at Bunarbashi, this was taken by the advocates of those places as favorable evidence, for are we not told that even the ruins perished, "*Etiam periere ruinae.*"‡

To modern opinions and arguments like these, and they are numerous and confident, the highest ancient authority may be opposed. Herodotus says, "when Xerxes arrived at the river, the Skamander, he ascended the Pergamos of Priam, having a desire to make a survey; and when he had made a

* Troy and its Remains, 41, 43. † Lord Carlisle: Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters, 70. ‡ Quar. Rev., April, 1874, p. 282.

survey and inquired *about everything*, he sacrificed a thousand bullocks to the Minerva of the Iliad, and the Magi poured out libations to the heroes."* After satisfactory examination, Xerxes had no doubt about the locality of Troy. And Plutarch records that Alexander of Macedon, who was born 70 years later than Xerxes, sacrificed at Troy to Minerva and offered solemn libations to the heroes buried there; and "While he was viewing the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told that he might see Paris' harp if he pleased, he said he thought it not worth looking at, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles."† Dr. Otto Keller quotes from Arrian, that Alexander came up to Ilium to sacrifice to Minerva, and to place his armor in the temple, in exchange for some of the sacred armor saved from Troy.‡ Livy also relates that Publius Scipio, more than one hundred years after, pitched his camp below the walls of Ilium and ascended the City and tower to sacrifice to Minerva.§

This display of antique objects to Alexander gives some probability to the finding of Dr. Schliemann, and accounts also for the smallness of the amount. The visit of Alexander to Troy cannot be regarded as an unconsidered excursion. Plutarch states, on the authority of Onesicritus, that Alexander constantly laid under his pillow Homer's Iliad, *in the copy corrected by Aristotle*. This was called the casket copy, because Alexander kept this literary treasure in a beautiful casket, which he appropriated from the spoils of Darins.¶ This incident seems to combine the authority of the most learned man of that age and his associates in favor of Hissarlik. Moreover,

* Herodotus, H. 43. "θεσσαμνός τε, καὶ πυθήμερος κίβων ἐπέσα."

† Clough's Plutarch, 4, 176. ‡ Arrian Exped. Alexand. 1c. II. § Livius 37c, 37.

¶ Clough's Plutarch, 4, 168.

Mr. Grote, whose judgment on such subjects is always respected, affirms "that there is every reason for presuming that the Ilium visited by Xerxes and Alexander was really the Holy Ilium present to the mind of Homer." Lord Carlisle and Prof. Felton admit that Hissarlik is the place intended by Mr. Grote, but they dissent from his opinion.*

Dr. Schliemann gives 20 metres (65½ feet) as the height of the primary soil of the plateau of Hissarlik above the plain. This elevation justifies the Homeric epithets, "high browed and windy," and commands an extensive prospect. Above this plateau he found *debris* 16 metres (about 52½ feet) in depth, in strata indicating at least four successive settlements and destructions below the surface. Dr. Schliemann wrote his account from day to day as the work went on, and was obliged to modify his previous descriptions. Hence it was difficult to ascertain the dividing lines of the strata and the original position of articles. This embarrassment was increased by frequent caving down. It appears that the lowest stratum presented pottery, and rude stone, and few articles of ivory, copper or bronze, and silver of a low degree of art. On this was deposited the second stratum, a bed of ashes and rubbish, in which were the effects of a great fire and remains of structures of polished stone and implements, weapons and ornaments in terra cotta, stone, gold, silver and bronze, and other materials, which are evidence of wealth, taste, and skill in art. In the stratum above this, the third, it does not appear that the advantages of those who dwelt below were improved or retained; for the articles are chiefly of clay and stone, and they are comparatively poor. The theory of

* Lord Carlisle's Diary, Turkish and Greek Waters, 70.

the succession of the ages of clay, stone, bronze and iron, finds no support here. The fourth stratum, which is immediately below the present surface, is considered less important, as it contains the ashes of wooden dwellings, and articles of terra cotta and copper, of less comparative interest, and very few stone implements. We can give but a hurried glance at the collection of objects from the second stratum above the virgin soil, which Dr. Schliemann believes to be the remains of the city of Troy described by Homer. These objects are said to be 4000, selected from 100,000 brought to light by him. The larger part of this collection are the vessels and implements in pottery and stone, many of which resemble those found in Cyprus and Rhodes, and other places. The objects in metals, which have great value and startling curiosity, are not numerous. The treasure of Priam, as it is called, was found on the wall, surrounded with ashes, as of an enclosing box, and Dr. Schliemann took the articles from the rubbish, and Madam Schliemann carried them to a safe place in her shawl, while the laborers were absent at breakfast. They are armor of copper or bronze, vessels in gold, silver and copper, or bronze, talents in silver, the bronze key of the chest, a few other articles in metal of more uncertain description, and a due proportion of female ornaments of gold, diadems, a mantilla (*kredemnon*) such as Andromache tore from her head in her grief for Hector, ear-rings and small jewels. It was a specimen for posterity, such as Hecuba and her faithful attendants might have prepared. A general photograph bringing this treasure together, enables us to ascertain, that the number of the articles is about seventy, in addition to the small jewels. Among the vessels is a drinking cup of pure gold, which

Dr. Schliemann calls a *depas amphikupellon*, weighing 1 lb. 6 oz. troy; a bottle of pure gold, weighing 1 lb. troy; a cup of pure gold, weighing $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. troy; a silver vase $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and 8 inches in diameter; a second silver vase, $6\frac{2}{3}$ inches high. The list of illustrations enumerates as made of Gold, one bottle, two cups, two diadems, a *fillet* 18 inches long, six bracelets, four ear-rings or tassels, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and 8750 small jewels, which may be part of the diadems and other ornaments. There are eight cups of silver and six silver talents, and two cups of electrum, having four parts of gold to one of silver, and one great bronze or copper cauldron.

In view of the suspicion, that may be excited by the rich quality and small number of these valuable objects, justice to Dr. Schliemann requires that it should be considered, that his veracity is supported by negative evidence of the strongest character. His vivid imagination and energetic temper have exposed him to opposition and unfavorable construction from the first. As soon as he showed some success, he had a quarrel with the Pacha, who permitted him to dig on part of the hill Hissarlik.

On June 1st, 1872, he writes that he has been excavating on shares, with the consent of his honored friend, Mr. Frank Calvert, on that part of Hissarlik *which belongs to him*. On May 10, 1873, we read that "The excavations on the north side of the field belonging to Mr. Calvert have been stopped for some time, because I can no longer come to terms with him." Under the same date, he mentions that "He allowed himself to be deceived by the statements of his esteemed friend, Mr. Frank Calvert," in regard to what was proved by certain documents, and previously he dissents from

the opinions and impressions of Mr. Calvert, as to objects that he found. Mr. Calvert replies in the *Athenæum* of November 7, 1874, with some warmth. He says "Dr. Schliemann has criticised my views and questioned my statement of facts, and represented me as an adversary of his explorations of the identity of Troy and Hissarlik. In truth I first convinced him of that identity, and persuaded him to make excavations, which *have yielded such advantageous results*. I did not expect he would acknowledge the obligation, but it was unpardonable that it should be an occasion of censure." He adds that Dr. Schliemann claims discoveries that Mr. Calvert had made before, and was indebted to him for learned authorities. With all this sense of wrong, there is no charge of direct falsehood. In the *Athenæum* of Aug. 8, 1874, Prof. S. Connos, a native of Greece, in a letter dated Athens, July 18, 1874, accuses Dr. Schliemann of violating his contracts with the Ottoman Government as to a share of his findings, and of disappointing the expectations of the Athenians, and of attempting to sell his collection in England or France. He adds, "Judging from all this, one would be very cautious in believing the discovery of Ilium and the treasure of Priam." He says, Mr. Conza, in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and other writers, "have so thoroughly proved that the Troy of Dr. Schliemann does not agree with the Troy of Homer, that it would be a waste of time to say more." After criticising several particulars he concludes thus, "I content myself with saying the supposed Trojan objects of Dr. Schliemann make no greater impression on me than the manuscripts of Simonides." The *Athenæum* of August 20th, 1874, mentions the receipt of another letter, in which Prof. Connos repeats his charges against Dr.

Schliemann, and censures him for not complying with the demands of the Pacha. The letter is not printed. Of all his associates, the Pacha of the District and Mr. Frank Calvert and Prof. Connos had the best opportunity to know what Dr. Schliemann did, and to detect any wilful misrepresentations or imposition, and they show no disposition to spare him, yet they do not accuse him of fraud or forgery. His own pen has injured his credit more than any enemy. In his original German journal we read, that to protect the valuable objects near the Skæan Gate from the laborers, Dr. Schliemann told them that Christ had gone up by that road to visit King Priam, and he set up a picture of Christ to sanctify the place.* In the English translation this odious incident is not found. But its influence will remain like the warning of the father of Desdemona to Othello,

"She has deceived her father and may thee."

It may be pardoned, that Dr. Schliemann in the weakness of excitement and disease and strong temptations, should commit this fault and hastily record it. But it is inconceivable, that the learned writer in the Quarterly Review should commend the act as "an example of the power of impressing the minds of those under him, which is a main element of success."

Dr. Schliemann doubted whether pure copper or bronze was the metal of some of the articles, and sent specimens for analysis to a distinguished chemist, M. Damoret, at Lyons, who found that they were bronze, not differing much in the proportions of copper and tin from the best Greek bronze. This bronze and the cups, made of electron, a combination of gold and silver, show an astonishing knowledge

* Trojanischer Alterthümer, p. 254.

and skill in metals in pre-historic time. In view of the helmets, spears and shields, and the articles suited to the luxury and state of King Priam, the reader will be ready to exclaim

Hic illius arma

Hic currus fuit.

But where is the Chariot? We know there were many chariots beside that one, of which we are told, that

“Hebe rolled the wheels,

Each with eight spokes and joined to the end
Of the steel axle — felloes wrought of gold
Bound with a brazen rim, to last for aye,
A wonder to behold. The hollow naves
Were silver; and on gold and silver cords
Was slung the warrior's seat. On silver hooks
Rested the reins, and silver was the pole,
Where the fair yokes and pottrels, all of gold,
Were fastened.”*—*Bryant*.

Though this chariot of the goddess Juno should be more costly and elaborate than the ordinary war chariots, the description shows, on the authority of Homer, that the use of Gold, Silver, Brass and Iron, in the construction of war chariots, was known and practised at the time of the Trojan war. Minerva had a more humble outfit, when, desiring to act as the charioteer of Diomedes, she took possession of the chariot of Sthenelus, which had an oaken axle, that groaned under the weight of the Goddess and the Hero.† Many chariots are mentioned in the poems, but it is not remembered that chariots or harnesses are described as being made of metals. Yet the battle was brilliant with the brass of horses and of men.‡ No part of a chariot or its harness has been brought up from excavations, which Dr. Schliemann says extended “from east to west and from north to south, through the entire hill.” Dr. Otto Keller says, “two-thirds of the hill was opened.”§

* *Iliad*, 5, 722. † *Iliad*, 5, 838. ‡ *Iliad*, 20, 157. § *Entdeckung Iliens* von Dr. Otto Keller.

It is not surprising or censurable, that the first descriptions of Dr. Schliemann, under all his embarrassments, should have been sometimes confused and unsatisfactory. But sufficient time passed, between the first publication of the *Journal* and the issue of the English edition, for such additions as would have made the statement more clear and complete. Such a strengthening of his facts would have been worth more than the defence of his conclusions. The wish that he had made this improvement, is strongly excited by his account of a house on the "Great Tower." He says, "By the side of the house, as well as in its larger apartments, I have found great quantities of human bones, but as yet only two entire skeletons, which must be those of warriors, for they were found at a depth of seven meters (23 feet), with copper helmets upon their heads. Beside one of the skeletons I found a large lance, a drawing of which I give." "Unfortunately both helmets are broken; however, I hope to be able to put one of the two together when I return to Athens. The upper portions of both helmets have, however, been well preserved, and these parts form the *φάλος* or ridge, in which the *λόφος ἵππου* or horse hair plume was fixed."* It will excite surprise and deep regret that such careless violence was used and that the scattered bones were not examined to ascertain their position and their sex, and their development as to age and size. They might have belonged to the female attendants of Hecuba or to the courtiers of Priam. It is a fair supposition that the lives connected with these bones were destroyed by war or sudden violence, without the opportunity

* *Troy and its Remains*, 279, 280.

of cremation, which was then practised. We cannot conjecture, why the two warriors should have worn such elaborate helmets and no other protective metallic armor. In the great battle, in which Achilles again took his place in the army, the whole field is described as being "brilliant with the brass of men and horses."* If we do not admit the suggestion, that the exchange of the brass armor of the Greek Diomede for the gold armor of Glaucus, the Trojan ally,† is evidence of the more costly equipment of the Trojans, it is believed to be true, that the Trojans are not represented as inferior in this respect. If Dr. Schliemann had "put together" one of the helmets as he intended, we should have had the most desirable sight of a part of armor often mentioned, as if it were of great importance. The list indicates that his collection at Athens only contains what he calls a "*φάλας*, or helmet crest," of which we have an engraving, and ambiguous pieces of such a helmet apparently distorted by fire, also engraved. The *φάλας* is a clumsy projection, that would make the helmet difficult to wear and would expose instead of protecting. Liddell and Scott's Lexicon defines *φάλας* to mean "a metal rim round the top of the helmet, in which the horse-hair crest was fixed," with no hint, that it was a kind of arm projecting into the air.

In the plates Dr. Schliemann represents two blocks of Mica-Schiste, with moulds for casting metal into forms of weapons and ornaments, and there is a crucible with brass remaining in it. These moulds are rude in form, and they agree with the shape of the spears and other objects in the

* *Iliad*, 20, 156. † *Ibid.* 6, 235.

plated objects are like some of the copper articles found among the relics of pre-historic races in Europe and America, and they do not show the skill and taste that produced the golden cups and other costly things found in "the Treasure." Still less do they indicate the perfection of practical mechanism that is displayed in two kinds of self moving machinery in the workshop of Vulcan, and in the strong plating of metals in the shield of Achilles, and the beautiful pictures formed of inlaid metals on its face;* and in the gold and silver watch dogs of Alcinous.† If it is admitted that Homer, like Shakespeare and other poets, invested the subjects of his description with the intelligence and capacity of his own age, though it was some centuries later than the true time, the wonder will not be less. For it is not supposed, that the mechanic arts ever attained such perfection in ancient Greece.

The gem of Dr. Schliemann's collection, in his own opinion, and in the estimation of an antiquary, is the drinking cup of pure gold, weighing 1 lb. 6 oz. troy, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It is in the form of an old fashioned table butter-boat, with a spout at each end. It has a massive handle, projecting like a band round the middle and rising no higher than the edge of the cup. It is said that the cup was cast, and the handles which are hollow, were fused on. The spouts are of different size, and it is supposed that the host tasted at the small spout and handed the cup to his guest, who drank from the other. Dr. Schliemann mentions four goblets or cups of the same form and of larger size, made of red clay, which he found broken, and

* *Iliad*, 18, 376-418. † *Odyssey*, 7, 91.

has not been able to repair them. He argues confidently and repeatedly, that these are the *dèpa amphikupella* mentioned by Homer, and that Aristotle erred in supposing *amphikupellon* meant double cupped, or two cups joined at the bottom, like the cells of a bee. The decision of Dr. Schliemann, that "in the Homeric Troy there were no such cups, otherwise I should have found them," is an instance of his undoubting conclusions.*

The questions and suggestions connected with this cup are numerous and attractive to antiquarian taste, but there is not time to take notice of more than one of them. The learned author of the article in the Quarterly Review, on Dr. Schliemann's discoveries remarks, that the smallness of this and other cups found there "recalls Homer's lamentation over the decline of convivial power.† The writer has not been able, with the aid of good scholars, to find the passage in Homer that is alluded to. It is not remembered that he commends the pleasures of wine, and in the Odyssey particularly, he strongly describes the evils of excess. Wine is constantly mentioned as a part of diet, but it is taken with much water. The wine with which Polyphemus was made drunk and overcome, was such, as should have been diluted with twenty parts of water.‡ Few temperance lectures have had so much power on the habits of men, as the often quoted reply of Hector to his mother offering to him, as a loving mother would, the refreshment of wine, when he returned weary with battle, for a brief visit to those he loved :

"Far hence be Bacchus' gifts, the chief rejoined;
Inflaming wine, pernicious to mankind,
Unnerves the limbs and chills the noble mind.

* * * * *

*Troy and its Remains, 313. †Quar. Rev. April, 1874, page 288. ‡Odyssey, 9, 209.

Let chiefs abstain and spare the sacred juice,
To sprinkle to the Gods, its better use."^{*}—*Pope*.

Yet it was considered, that the moderate use of wine was necessary, as when Ulysses advised Achilles not to send his troops fasting to an expected battle. His words were, "Order the Achaians in the swift ships to be fed with bread and wine, for this is strength and spirit."[†]

In the slightest glance at the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, the inscriptions cannot be overlooked, for they may be the keys to all the secrets of history. A list of 18 distinct inscriptions is given, in which resemblance to known letters and characters has been pointed out. As there will be a general assent to the opinion of Prof. Max Muller, that they "are most disappointing," they need not detain us long. The most complete is an inscription on a vase, that has been explained by the learned Prof. Burnouf, of Athens. He writes, "I sought to read it by means of all the alphabets that I had at my disposal, and my researches were in vain. All at once, on applying to it the elementary signs of Chinese writing, I read it with the greatest facility, not in Chinese, a language of which I was entirely ignorant, but in French."[‡]

Prof. Burnouf does not add the French explanation, but Dr. Schliemann gives it, without expressing an opinion, as follows:

	¹		²		³		⁴		⁵		⁶
	Puisse	(la)	terre	faire	germer	dix	labours	dix			
⁷	⁸	⁹	¹⁰		¹¹						
•	dix,	dix,	dix	pièces	d'étoffes.						
	<u>mille.</u>										

^{*} *Iliad*, 6, 264. [†] *Ibid.* 19, 160. [‡] *Reveu des Deux Mondes*, Jan'y 1, 1874, p. 74.

The eleven characters are translated as follows :

¹	²	³	⁴	⁵
Could	the earth	cause to germinate	ten	tillings
⁶	⁷	⁸	⁹	¹⁰
ten.	—	ten, ten, ten		¹¹
				pieces of cloth.*
		one thousand.		

Mr. Smith, the English translator, expresses a doubt if M. Burnouf "meant this seriously," "and considers it only as a curious coincidence." We learn from Dr. Schliemann that there is need of caution in admitting the genuineness of these inscriptions. Under date of Nov. 3, 1871, he writes thus, "Upon some articles of very hard black clay without decorations, some hand has endeavored to make them after the clay was burnt, and, when looked at through a magnifying glass, these marks leave no doubt that they have been laboriously scratched with a piece of flint." And he adds, on July 13, 1872, "my workmen have occasionally attempted to make decorations on unornamented articles, to obtain the reward. I of course detect the forged symbols at once and always punish the forger." But forgery is still attempted from time to time. Dr. Schliemann compels us to remember that the ingenuity of the Greeks is unsurpassed, and may sometimes be successful.

It may be asked, if the infrequency or absence of inscriptions is inconsistent with the Trojan origin of these remains. The Iliad mentions one instance of the communication of thought by inscription, and that is related as if it was not uncommon.† It is found in the amusing episode, in which the Grecian Diomedes, with the address of Sam Slick, talked his enemy Glaucus, leader of the Lycians,

* Troy and its Remains, 51. † Iliad, 7, 175. That the Grecian warriors put private marks on the lots they cast to decide who should fight with Hector, is no proof that they could write.

into such a fit of generous chivalry, that he exchanged his golden armor worth one hundred oxen, for the brazen armor of Diomede worth nine oxen. In the interchange of family glorification, Glaucus relates that King Prætus, desiring to kill Bellerophon the grandfather of Glaucus, "gave him deadly tokens, writing in folded tablets many fatal things, which he ordered him to show to King Jobates, that he might destroy him." Jobates asked for the token of introduction, and in compliance with it sent Bellerophon into dangerous contests, in which he obtained victories and the highest favor of Jobates.* The general opinion of scholars is, that the tablets contained symbols and not letters. It is difficult to give a better description of a modern epistle, than to say in the words of Homer, it is a folded tablet with an inscription, which may be in letters, in symbols or in cypher.

What reception has been given to the announcement of Dr. Schliemann's discovery? How has it been received by scholars, in their responsibility for the truth and purity of literature? And how has it been received by the readers of our time? The scholars, whose publications are generally accepted as a sufficient representation of the discoveries for English readers, were excited, but not beyond measure. Did they hasten to Hissarlik, to the spot where the credibility of the narrative might be tested? No. They hastened to their desks and their libraries and sent out the fruits of their studies, with entire reliance on the discoverer, and on one or two visitors of the collection which he exhibited at Athens. The eminent classical scholar, Dr. Otto Keller, of Freiburg, in Breisgau, is conspicuous for qualifying himself to judge Dr.

* *Iliad*, 6, 119.

Schliemann, by the place of his discovery, by the material product of the discovery, and by the descriptions and conclusions offered by the discoverer.

Such neglect of local examination is inexcusable, but it is not unprecedented. We need not look to past time and remote places for a similar oversight. In the last year there were discussions by very learned men in Germany on the strength given to evidence of a Phœnician settlement in America, by the discovery of a buried gypsum statue, at Cardiff near Syracuse in the State of New York, which Dr. H. Hartog Heys von Zouteveen regarded as the "Baal in Atlantis." These respected scholars were misled by incautious reliance on second-hand and sensational statements. If they had stood with the writer to inspect the figure, before it was raised from its watery bed, they would have assented to the opinion of Dr. Schlottman, that it was "a representation of Adonis;"* for, like Venus, rising from the sea, it was beautiful, and more beautiful for its bath, if it was enjoyed with brief discretion. If they were chemists, they would remember that gypsum is dissolved by 400 parts of water, and observe that the rapid flow of four or five inches depth of water through the pit had shown its effect on the ear and so much of the figure as was submerged. So they would have been prepared to believe the statement which Burckhardt, a jolly German, made to the writer, at the marble warehouse of Messrs. Volkes, at Chicago, that he was the designer and director of the sculpture, and that the statue lay buried about one year, and that he, Burckhardt, had ability to make it, with the skill apparent in a beautiful design for a soldier's monument

* Proceedings Am. Oriental Society, May, 1874.

exhibited in the warehouse, which he prepared in a very short time, and obtained a premium for it.

The objects described by Dr. Schliemann naturally lead him to speculations and inferences. As the figures on pottery, having some likeness to the face of an owl, suggest the probability that they represent the goddess Minerva, who is described by the epithet *Glaucopis*, if it means owl-faced and not having bright searching eyes, as it is sometimes translated. A discussion of this carries him into Indian mythology; and in the same direction are the inquiries about the ancient cross, the *suastika*, and other figures, on the thin small circles of pottery, of which it is difficult to discover the use. Though his commentators censure him for adding to his testimony such speculations, they do not deny themselves the pleasure of pursuing them, and they have not added much to what he presents. We look to those who have undertaken to pass judgment on Dr. Schliemann's work, first of all, for their opinion of his veracity and the character of his alleged discoveries.

Mr. C. F. Newton, of the British Museum, reports in the *Academy*, under date of February 14, 1874, his visit at Dr. Schliemann's collection at Athens. He does not appear to have been a suspicious observer. When he read Dr. Schliemann's narrative and examined his photographs, he entertained no doubt, and his opinion was confirmed by inspection of the collection, and by opinions of respected archaeologists. The articles in gold and silver resemble others found in the Troad, and other things have a similarity to certain objects found in Rhodes and Cyprus, which cannot be the result of chance. His "present theory" is that they are pre-historic. He mentions that some few receive the narrative

with scornful incredulity and insinuate that the gold and silver was made at Athens. He takes no other notice of this calumny, which is not known to have been supported or repeated elsewhere. The distinguished philologist, Max Muller, under date of January 10, 1874,* writes, "The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann have not been received with the recognition that they deserve. If he had described his discoveries without adding his theories, he would have earned nothing but gratitude, but his speculations have roused opposition and incredulity. The myth of Helen and Paris and Achilles is localized at Troy. No one in his senses ever believed that these are truly historical events. It was imagined that, after removing from the Iliad all that is mythological, there is a historical foundation of some war carried on by the Greek tribes against the inhabitants of Troy. But if we take away from the Iliad all the marvellous and impossible elements, the whole poem collapses and vanishes. The locality of the war, as described by the poet, may have some amount of reality compatible with the mythical character of the war and the ruins of an old fortress." "*If without having seen the actual treasures, which Dr. Schliemann has safely conveyed to Athens, one may venture to express an opinion of their real character, they would seem to belong to that large class of pre-historic antiquities, which of late has excited so much interest. With the exception of two or three works of art they seem to be of rude workmanship.*" He adds, "the inscriptions are most disappointing." There are Phœnician letters and some others. Eight or ten signs are decidedly Phœnician letters of the oldest form; but great care will be required before allowing the inscriptions a really historical

* Academy, No. 88, p. 39.

which the distinguished name of Prof. Max Muller does not fail to give a favorable opinion of the results and worth of the discovery.

M. Burnouf writes that, he is happy to find such a complete identity between Dr. Schliemann's judgment, based on examination of the originals, and the impression which he has formed by the sight of the photographs.

After Mr. Newton's expression of opinion, there remains nothing more to be said as to the authenticity. He agrees with the learned English scholar that the objects are prehistoric, and known to have been found at Rhodes and Cyprus. He is sure that he lives in the age of Troy, and thinks Homer is confirmed by his special authorities.*

A writer in the *Sanitary Review* of April, 1874, relies on the report of Mr. Newton, the narrative and plates of Dr. Schliemann, and the papers of M. Burnouf and Max Muller. He censures Homer for inaccuracy as to space and numbers. He commends our learning on the objects found, and agrees with Dr. Schliemann. He concludes that he does not think Dr. Schliemann's views will find general acceptance, though we cannot but admire the zeal and energy of his researches, and the conscientious manner in which he has conducted the inquiry.

A writer in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1874, on the authority of the papers of Newton, Burnouf, and Max Muller, illustrates the subject of Dr. Schliemann's narrative with a wealth of learning and ingenuity. He says, "We now adopt, though with a smile, the words of the enthusiastic

* Academy, March 21, 1874.



friend and interpreter of Dr. Schliemann,* 'that the hill of Ilium had been a solitude for 1500 years, till a man and a woman encamped there three years ago, like another Deucalion and Pyrrha, to evoke the forms of heroic life from the buried stones.' "

The admirable scholar and able statesman, Mr. Gladstone, always honors an introduction from Homer with the richest classical feast. In his essay on "Homer's Place in History," he uses no other authorities for his remarks on Dr. Schliemann's discoveries than those quoted in the *English Quarterlies*. He contends that there is a solid nucleus of fact in Homer's account of the Trojan war, and therefore his poems are in the highest sense historical. He welcomes Dr. Schliemann's discoveries as important evidence in the case, and represents, in striking juxtaposition, the conformity of the narrative to the poem.

Our brilliant countryman, Mr. Bayard Taylor, has furnished for the daily press an abstract of Dr. Schliemann's narrative, in which he has painted the surprising and interesting features in strong relief, with his peculiar power. He presents the views of Dr. Schliemann with respect and admiration, and does not discuss them.

The evidence furnished in this investigation by Prof. Otto Keller, of Freiburg in Breisgau, comes to us with the highest authority and the advantage of personal communication. The *Nation*, of January 28, 1875, stated that this ripe scholar had written to an American correspondent that he had studied the collection at Athens, with every opportunity

* M. Emile Burnouf, who gave one of the most ample, learned and interesting accounts of Dr. Schliemann's labors and results, in the *Reveu des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1874.

cordially afforded by Dr. Schliemann. He was struck with the marked contrast between Dr. Schliemann's collection and the familiar creations of Hellenic art, and with the strong resemblance of the objects to those found in the oldest sepulchral monuments, caves, and pile buildings, in Europe or Asia. The golden ornaments are suggestive in their richness of the neighboring Lydia and the golden Pactolus, and in their form of the golden pendants worn by the priests of Asia Minor. Other objects are like those found in Cyprus. And last of all, the written characters on some of the pottery bear the strongest resemblance to the Cyprian characters probably used before the introduction of the Phœnician alphabet into Greece. From the museum Dr. Keller went to the Troad, and examined the localities and the bed from which the antiquities were taken, and came to the conclusion that Dr. Schliemann was true in his statements and justified in his conclusions. He writes, "the conclusion of the whole matter is this: We have in Schliemann's collection, unmistakable relics of Troy of immense age, and the spot on which he made his investigations is not simply New Ilum but the Ilum of all time." As this testimony, of the greatest importance, had been furnished to one of our countrymen, we yielded to the temptation of addressing a letter to Dr. Keller to ask if his opinions were truly reported by his correspondent. He promptly replied that he retained the same opinions, with some modification of particulars; and he sent a very learned pamphlet, entitled "Die Entdeckung Ilions zu Hisarlik," in which he fully illustrates his views. It is regretted that an abstract of the essay could not be given here, but it lies on your table for the use of members of the Society. This act of courtesy in

reply to inquiries made for this Society, seems to deserve a special acknowledgment.*

The offer of Dr. Schliemann to give to his contemporaries a lively sense of the reality of the heroes and incidents described by Homer has not excited the interest and enthusiasm, which would have greeted it a hundred years ago. The great Epics no longer retain the first place, though their dethronement has left it vacant. The overturn, that men call progress, has crushed to earth for a time the greatest benefactors of our own race, and their noblest works. It would be instructive to recall the names of this noble army of martyrs. Herodotus, the father of history, was not long since scorned as the father of lies, and he stood for a while in mute merit on the shelf, until respect and authority have been restored to him. And at this moment the most perfect dramatist of all time is assaulted, to rob him of his sock and his buskin, to give them to one who never desired them and could never wear them. Homer has suffered the common fate. It is in vain that he is always genial and attractive, elevating in sentiment, and in moral purity superior to the customs of his age. He scatters, broadcast, gems of truth, that sparkle with new light as human intelligence is increased.

* At the meeting of the American Philological Society, in July, 1874, Prof. J. C. Van Benschoten, of the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Conn., read an interesting account of his visit to the Troad in 1861, with remarks on Dr. Schliemann's discoveries. He went there with his Homer and his Strabo, prepared to be confirmed in Le Chevalier's opinion; but he was convinced by a deliberate and careful examination of ten days, that Hissarlik is "the site of Homer's Troy." He "could not question a statement of facts from Dr. Schliemann," but he does not so readily assent to his conclusions. The inscriptions "are attracting the profoundest interest." He says, "Of the existence of an actual Troy there can hardly be a question any longer. Egyptologists have established beyond a reasonable doubt, what concurrent tradition had long tried to settle." It is pleasant to bring respected testimony from our own country into the case.

"Age cannot wither *him*, nor custom stale
His infinite variety."

Philosophers and historians, who have, for the longest time, been honored with the confidence and admiration of mankind, appeal to Homer as their oracle. And if modern statesmen would acquaint themselves with the policy and the divine right of kings, they may go back to the ancient compendium, which Alexander declared to be, in his opinion, "a perfect portable treasury of military virtue and knowledge."* Though civil freedom was then unknown, Homer has expressed the value of personal liberty in words that cannot be forgotten :

"Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away."†—*Pope*.

There are other causes of this change than the caprice of fashion, the "giddy and unfirm" fancies of men, to which literature not less than love is subjected. The Greek language has been one of the foundations of the intellectual power of past time. But now the learned and unlearned have conspired to deprive it of its preëminence, and to restrict or discontinue its use in colleges and schools of the highest grade. The first effect of this is already perceived, and Greek literature has faded from the knowledge of English readers. So far as the privileges of scholarship are concerned, this movement is of little importance. Scholars will only be more conspicuous, if they enjoy a culture in which the active community have no share. When the teaching of Greek is continued in our schools, the Homeric poems are not, as formerly, studied and committed to memory more than any other books in the language. They have given place to works of a later period, that are fitted to

* Plutarch, Clough, 4, 163. † Odyssey, 17, 322.

teach the language in its systematic and perfect form ; and these influences, adverse to these poems, are strengthened by the criticism, that suggests the probability that an indefinite number of Homers have made up unfitted parts, which, for thousands of years, have been admired as well-framed structures ; and that the pictures which they present, are not historical nor even poetical representations of human passions and experience, but mere allegorical myths. And to all these are added charges of contradiction, inconsistency, and general want of skill with many specifications. This storm of obloquy has not been conjured up by the wit or folly of modern times, in which it has had its greatest power. For more than two thousand years the Homeric poems have endured the pitiless pelting, while they have been revered and loved, probably more than any other but the sacred books. We are told that Pythagoras, Heraclitus and Anaxagoras, and others of their time, attacked and defended the moral and religious character of the poems. And in regard to the theory that resolves this poetry into moral allegories, it is said “ that this broad and extravagant interpretation, which Socrates ridiculed and Plato refuted, and Aristarchus contradicted with all his learning and good sense, remained in favor with rhetoricians and grammarians of ancient times, and some traces of it are found at this day.”* An ample account of the discussion of the unity of the composition of the Iliad and Odyssey is presented in a learned and brilliant memoir by M. Leo Joubert.† To this memoir we shall be much indebted for a few remarks, that may show the variety and tendency of the arguments. The boast, that seven towns contended for the honor of being the birthplace of Homer, is turned into

* Biographie Generale, *Homere*. † Ibid.

ridicule by admitting its justice. So many towns might claim this honor, because their inhabitants were the Homers, the authors of the ballads of which the poems were made. M. Wolf, the most acute and learned modern critic of Homer, admired the poems too much to be willing to take part in this abuse, but he argued strongly against the unity of the composition. John Baptist Vico (1668-1744), who has been admired as a leader in what is called "the philosophy of history," is an earlier and more savage critic of Homer than M. Wolf, to whom he is inferior in learning and judgment. M. Vico denies the individuality of Homer, and is represented as saying, "His heroes are fierce, unstable, obstinate and unreasonable. His gods are no better than his heroes. The characters and manners of the Homeric personages, far from being the work of a philosopher, could only be conceived by beings of a weak mind, a vigorous imagination, and violent passions."* The denial of M. Wolf, that these poems were made public by writing, is well supported. The absence of mention of continuous writing in the poems is a strong circumstance; but the non-existence in that country, at that period, of any other material for inscription than stone, metal and wood, and still later skins of animals, until 630 B. C., when papyrus was imported from Egypt into Greece, seems to settle the question; for papyrus, or our own paper, only, is adapted to such long compositions. M. Wolf has gained little by proving that the poems were not originally *written*. For the difficult question remains unanswered and unapproached, how were they preserved and transmitted in a rude and unlettered age.

* Biographie Generale, Article *Homer*, p. 32.

The pleasure we receive from any gift, and especially from contributions that afford the highest intellectual enjoyment, is always increased by friendly acquaintance with the giver. The love and reverence for Homer in ancient times were personal sentiments; and when they are ingeniously argued away, the poems must lose much of their attractive power, and any discoveries in regard to them will have little interest. What have the mass of English readers been taught to think about the authorship of these poems? It will be sufficient to quote from Mr. Grote's "History of Greece," which is justly called "the most complete and exact picture of the intellectual and political development of the Grecian people."* He writes, "There were a poetical gens, fraternity or guild in the Ionic island of Chios (Scio). To them Homer was not a mere antecedent man, of kindred nature with themselves, but a divine or semi-divine epouymus and progenitor, whom they worshipped in their gentile sacrifices, and in whose ascendant name and glory the individuality of every member of the gens was merged. The compositions of each separate Homerid, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer; the name of the individual bard perishes and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile father lives and grows in renown, from generation to generation, by the genius of his self-renewing sons. Such was the conception entertained of Homer by the poetical gens, called Homeridæ or Homerids, and in the general obscurity of the whole case I lean towards it as the most plausible conception." "To us, the name of Homer means these two poems and little else." A note informs us that "Nitzsch and Ulrici question the

* *Biographie Generale, Grote.*

antiquity of the Homerid gens, and limit their functions to simple reciters, denying that they ever composed songs or poems of their own." The opinions of Nitzsch and Ulrich will have much weight on such questions. Mr. Grote has no doubt of the reality of the Homerids in the Island of Chios, and of their continued existence to the time of Pindar and Plato, "when," he remarks, "their productive invention had ceased, and they had become only guardians and distributors in common with others, of the treasures bequeathed by their predecessors."* It is unnecessary to examine the arguments of Mr. Grote, which on this subject generally aim at nothing better than probability. As when he refers to the existence of such fraternities for composition as well as recitation in different countries, through many centuries. It is not unfair, and it is an amusing thought, to test this theory of the origin of the *Iliad*, by applying it to our own times, and within the circle of our own knowledge. In an area not larger than Chios, surrounding a peninsula, there are many more poets than Chios could ever boast of. The names of the poets of Chios are unknown, and their separate works were never preserved. But the modern poets have a world-wide and enduring renown. Let us suppose, that these poets have now formed a fraternity to make up an epic like the *Iliad*, by their ballads independently composed. We will allude only to those who are now receiving the plaudits of the world. Is it possible that Longfellow and Holmes and Lowell and Whittier could paint, in separate pieces, the character and doings of Achilles and Ulysses, in connection with other personages, in a great variety of scenes, with so much uniformity that their united

* Grote's *Greece*, II. 131, 132, 133.

work would not be distorted by shades and contrasts? And the confusion would increase with the number of contributors.

Frederic Augustus Wolf, (1759-1824), the herald and champion of the theory of the conglomerate origin of the Homeric poems, seems to differ from Mr. Grote, in thinking that the ballads were composed separately, with no attempt to harmonize or unite them, and that the union and conformity were made by Lyeurgus or Peisistratus and his son. The learned arguments against the reality of the man Homer, urged by M. Wolf and others, are founded on scraps of tradition and history, and ingenious analogies and conjectures; and they have led to the disregard of a well known historical fact, which has weight that it is not easy to resist. We have almost the strength of contemporary testimony, when we find Herodotus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and all the learned men of the earliest age of Greece referring to Homer, as the one author of the poems. And these references are not made without due consideration, for these scholars quoted Homer with reverence, as the source and authority of their best thoughts.

In discussing the question of unity of composition, many strange fancies have been offered. Longinus writes "The Odyssey is but an epilogue of the Iliad. The Iliad was written in the vigor of life, and is full of action and contest. The Odyssey is chiefly filled with narrative, to which old age is prone."* Bentley thinks the Iliad was composed for men and the Odyssey for women. Godfrey Hermann conjectured that Homer, or some other poet, made "two short poems," and a "series of poets" successively

* Longinus, 54-55.

developed and enlarged them.* To this notion two objections will occur. First, the memory of such "short poems," or even of their existence, could not be wholly lost. Second, there is no evidence of the existence at that early age of the supposed "series of poets," similar to each other in taste and talent, and not inferior to their successors in all time. The notion that the Homeric poems were small in their infancy, because otherwise they could not have been preserved and handed down, is not favored by Mr. Grote. He says, "As far as the evidences in the case, as well external as internal, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially as they now stand (always allowing for partial degeneracy of text and interpolations) in 776 B. C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time."† The cautious parenthesis added above probably refers in part to passages not now included in our text of these poems, to be found in the writings of Aristotle and elsewhere. No improbability of great age arises from mere size. Mr. Grote mentions that "the Æthiopis of Arktinus of Miletus contained, in four books, 9100 verses," more than half of 15,690, the number of the Iliad. "Nitzsch states it as a certain matter of fact that Arktinus recited his own poem *alone*, though it was too long to admit of his doing it without interruption." Mr. Grote adds, "There is no evidence for this assertion, and it appears to me highly improbable."‡ Mr. Grote had occasion to dispose of many historical dicta in the same manner. Arktinus, whose era is fixed at 770 B. C., about 200 years later than Homer, was the author of several poems, famous in their time, "of which we have only some weak fragments

* Biog. Gen. *Homere*, 40. † Grote's *Greece*, 2, 161. ‡ Ibid. 156.

and summaries." If it is thought that the preëminence and preservation of the poems of Homer were in some degree promoted by the absence of similar objects for the attention and memory of those who first heard them, this opinion may be changed by this fact given by Mr. Grote. "Beside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we make out the titles of about thirty lost epic poems, sometimes with a brief hint of their contents."* Even the cautious Mr. Grote is led by Homer into an unwonted extravagance. He says, "looking at the *Odyssey* by itself, the proofs of a unity of design seem unequivocal and are everywhere to be found." "That the *Iliad* is not so essentially one piece as the *Odyssey*, every man agrees."† He finds in the *Iliad* two poems, "the *Achilleis*" destined to celebrate the wrath of Achilles, and the *Iliad*, that describes the siege of Troy, and he carries out the idea by a dissection that destroys life. The separated poems become more regular but infinitely less interesting. He strongly says that "Nothing is gained by studying the *Iliad* as a congeries of fragments once independent of each other; no portion of the poem can be shown to have ever been so, and the supposition introduces difficulties greater than those which it removes. But it is not necessary to affirm that the whole poem, as we now read it, belonged to the original and pre-conceived plan. In this respect the *Iliad* produces upon my mind an impression totally different from the *Odyssey*. In the latter poem, the characters and incidents are fewer and the whole plot appears of one projection, from the beginning down to the death of the suitors. But the *Iliad*, on the contrary, pre-

* Grote's *Greece*, 2, p. 120. † *Ibid.* 166, 172.

sents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow and subsequently enlarged by successive additions." * With these clear convictions of the pre-conceived plan of the Odyssey, and of portions of the Iliad, Mr. Grote could say, "Homer then is no individual man, but the divine or heroic father of the gentle Homerids, a poetical fraternity."† Yet with his usual candor, he takes notice of the significant fact, that Solon "enforced a fixed order of regulation on the rhapsodies of the Iliad at the Panathenæic festival; not only directing that they should go through the rhapsodies seriatim and without omission or corruption, but also establishing a prompter or censorial authority to insure obedience."‡ Thus it appears that Solon, who was born in 638 B. C., eight years before the introduction of papyrus into Greece made it possible to commit the Homeric poems to writing, found a certainty in the substance and form of the Iliad, that was known and respected by the people that he governed. In a note, Mr. Grote says, "Lachmann, after having dissected the two thousand two hundred lines in the Iliad, between the beginning of the Eleventh Book and line five hundred and ninety of the thirteenth, into four songs, 'in the highest degree different in their spirit,' tells us that whosoever thinks this difference of spirit inconsiderable — whosoever does not feel it at once, when pointed out — whosoever can believe that the parts, as they stand now, belong to one artistically constructed Epos — and he will not to trouble himself any more either with my ~~analysis~~ or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand any thing about it."§ From the fury of such

* *Landon's Greece*, 2, 175. + *Ibid.* 2, 183. † *Ibid.* 2, 158. § *Ibid.* 2, 163.

critics we are glad to take the shelter offered by another note of Mr. Grote, "Plato and Aristotle, and their contemporaries, generally read the most suspicious portions of the Homeric poems as genuine."* These ancients were wise enough to prefer the refined enjoyment of poetry to the pleasure of a puzzle.

About one hundred years after the probable date of the introduction of the use of papyrus into Greece, Peisistratus and Hipparchus have the credit of causing the Homeric Poems to be put into their present form. M. Joubert says, "We think M. Wolf has greatly exaggerated the importance of the labors of Peisistratus and his son. Their work, however valuable, was only an arrangement, and it is impossible that a simple arrangement of separate songs should produce that admirable literary form which the greatest poets of succeeding ages have imitated without ever equalling it."†

It is asserted that one cannot deny that an attentive examination is unfavorable to the unity of the composition of the Iliad, on account of the parts which seem to be added to the original structures, and the contradictions in detail. A few specimens will be sufficient to show the character and force of very numerous specifications supposed to have a bearing on this point. That Agamemnon should have waited till the tenth year of the war to review his troops is strange, but it is admitted that it is not unfavorable to the course of a popular poem. Nor can it be understood, why the single combat between Paris and Menelaus should not have taken place till after the ninth year. And Helen, on the Tower, pointed out the Grecian chiefs to Priam, who had been look-

* Grote's Greece, 164. † Blog. Gen. *Homere*, 40.

ing at them for nine years. And Helen is anxious to see her brothers and inquires if they are living, and if they are ashamed of her and disown her, when she must have had opportunities to be perfectly informed about them. If these two last errors had been avoided, two of the most admired passages would have been lost. Jupiter promises in the first book to avenge Achilles, and does not keep his promise until the eleventh book. Eustathius, A. D., 1155, says, "The ancients pretended that the tenth book was a separate poem, composed by Homer, which was afterwards inserted in the *Iliad*."* But this tenth book and the ninth containing the splendid description of the embassy to Achilles, and other passages, also censured because they do not carry on the course of the poem, have given to the course the brilliancy and power which have made the *Iliad* one of the most wonderful productions of human genius.

Mr. Grote says, "The last two books of the *Iliad* may have formed part of the original *Achilléis*. But the probability rather is, that they are additions; for the death of Hector satisfies the exigencies of a coherent scheme." "And some weight is due to the remark about the twenty-third book, that Ulysses and Diomedes, who have been wounded and disabled during the fight, should now reappear in perfect force and contend in the games. And the inconsistency is more likely to have been admitted by a separate enlarging poet than by the schemer of the *Achilléis*."† What listener or reader would stop the grand march of the Epic, to ask if Ulysses and Diomedes really had time and proper treatment

* *De Virg. Georg. Ill. lib. x. c.* † Grote's *Greece*, 2, 199, 200.

to recover from wounds, and take part in funeral games, when their presence was so desirable. The critic would have made a different poem. He would have left us with Achilles in the hatefulness of brutal rage, forgetting to give the funeral honors necessary to admit his friend to the Elysian fields; while the body of warm hearted Hector lies in the dust, a dishonored prey for dogs and birds. The introduction in this book of the ghost of Patroclus has been ridiculed.* But it came with a worthy errand, to remind Achilles of his duty and to enforce the admonition by the assurance that the parting of the soul from the bodily senses does not destroy the love of friends, or their longing for continued affection. A thought as welcome to the first group of listeners as to the readers of to-day. The funeral games belong to the belief and customs of the time; and they do for the poem, what they were designed to do for those who took part in them, they bring back cheerfulness and the feelings of ordinary life. So the twenty-third book carries on the plot of the poem. The twenty-fourth book will never be sacrificed to the critics. It was not enough that we should know that Achilles could love his friend. The poet desired to show how much generosity such a passionate nature could offer in his triumphant revenge, to an enemy who had slain that friend, so that no disgust may be excited by his story. The visit of old Priam to Achilles, to ask for the body of Hector, is described with the greatest dramatic power. Achilles respectfully raises the king from a suppliant posture at his knees, sympathizes to tears with an appeal to his own filial love, expresses counsels of

* *Iliad*, 23, 69.

patience, and grants all that is asked. But when Priam begins to speak of Hector,

"Move me no more," Achilles thus replies
While kindling anger sparkled in his eyes;
Nor seek by tears my steadfast soul to bend.
To yield thy Hector, I myself intend.

Cease; lest, neglectful of high Jove's command,
I show thee, king, thou treadst on hostile land." — *Pope*.

This imperfect sketch may give some idea of the character and temper of the discussion, but it does not show the wealth of learning and ingenuity, and the extravagance of conjecture and assertion, that are brought into it. One fact is prominent above every other. These poems have been the victims of learned torture, sharp and cruel enough to deface and destroy the most perfect beauty. The effect of modern criticism is to diminish the authority and popularity of these ancient poems, and to create, among intelligent and unlearned readers, an indifference to any discoveries, however valuable, that Dr. Schliemann may have made, in regard to their historical reality. The conclusion of M. Joubert, "That the hypothesis that denies the unity of the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* raises many difficulties, and removes none of them,"† is supported by good scholars‡. This may not be the prevailing opinion of the learned of this day; so Mr. Gladstone seems to have thought, when in his argument on "the place of Homer in history," he waived the

* *Iliad*, 24, 559. † *Biogr.-Gen. Hæere*. ‡ Mr. George Bancroft, who was respected as a Greek scholar before he was known as a historian, in a recent letter to the Committee for the Concord Centennial, says, "the encounters at Lexington and Concord are as much the flowering out of a succession of the ages, as the *Iliad* of Homer, or the College Cathedral." His reply to the query of a friend, whether he intended to maintain that there was a succession of authors, permits us to say that he remains a believer that the poem came essentially from one mind, handling with the materials which his own age and preceding ones furnished him."

question of "one or several Homers" and of "the reference of the two poems to the same authorship," and added, "By the word Homer, which probably means no more than composer, it is not necessary at this stage to understand more than the poet or poets from whom proceeded the substance of the Iliad and Odyssey." Yet no one in this age, has done more to bring out in strong light the unity of design of these poems, and the life-like character of the persons described, than Mr. Gladstone. If he does not succeed in vindicating "the place of Homer in history" he will do a better work, in restoring Homer to his place in literature; and in this he will be aided by the discussions occasioned by Dr. Schliemann. The opinion, which Mr. Gladstone treated with so much deference, shall be accepted on trial. For a moment we will repeat the experiment, that has been attempted so often without success, to look at the Iliad as an aggregate of ballads composed by different authors in separate villages of Greece, in the infancy of the culture and methods of literature, and preserved only by the memory and taste of a people not superior to the authors. In this view, they are more wonderful than the best arranged products of modern coöperative manufacture. And the wonder is increased, when we are told that these unconnected pieces were brought together and trimmed and matched by some Lycurgus or Peisistratus, with so much skill, that no local partiality has preserved any rival versions.

It is an idea that is only transcended when we look at the material universe, with its immensity and its mystery, with its pervading beauty and its unfailing fitness in the whole and in every minute part, and arrive at the conclusion, that it is the work of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms under

perintendence of natural selection. It is commonly
 ed, that the multitude of partners will relieve responsi-
 but this advantage is not enjoyed here. The Homers
 l to time and dimensions as closely as any apprentice.
 erence to recent discoveries, they are reproached
 re one of the critics for inaccurate description
 loc lies of Troy. It is certain that Homer never
 there. emphatically said by those who fail to make
 t v n modern facilities of transit, to find support
 censures they pronounce against him. It is one of
 many marvels of the Iliad, that the Homers protect
 selves against this very criticism, in the second book
 a descriptive enumeration of the Grecian and Trojan
 es is introduced, which would probably excite local
 jealousy. The passage is often quoted, but it is pleasant to
 repeat it,

“ Say now ye nine, who on Olympus dwell,
 Muses—for ye are Goddesses, and ye
 Were present and know all things; we ourselves
 But hear from rumour's voice, and nothing know
 Who were the chiefs and mighty lords of Greece.”*

—Lord Derby.

Here is a plain declaration, that the poets will enlarge
 and illustrate, with the aid of inspiration or imagination, the
 tradition that they have received. The great English Epics
 are liable to similar censures, and have the same defence.
 Paradise Lost is inaccurate in geography and other matters
 of fact. Without citing other instances, we may remember
 that the route of Satan, to find “unsuspected way” to the
 Garden of Eden, is laid in part,

“West from Orontes, to the ocean barr'd,
 At Darien ”

* Iliad, 2, 484.

But Milton appeals to the authority, higher than his own studies,

“Of that celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored and dictates to me slumbering,
Or inspires easy my unpremeditated verse.”

About one thousand years before Milton sang of *Paradise Lost*, an Anglo-saxon named Cædmon, born in Northumberland, treated the same subject in verses, of which a manuscript half as large as the *Iliad* is preserved in the Bodleian Library. They were called “most mellifluous poesy” by the venerable Bede, who was a poet and a classical scholar. The English version, by Benjamin Thorpe, reminds us of Milton, in the account of the “Rebel Angels” and of the temptation of Eve, and in other passages.* But the resemblance is not greater than we should expect, in the common origin of the two, and the liability of the modern versifier to conform to the language of Milton. In every age, these parts of the Bible have been favorite subjects of the devout and imaginative. The originality of Milton is in his treatment and not in his topics; and he wrote in a period of too much light to be exposed to the accusation of borrowing thoughts, which he expressed with unprecedented richness and strength.

The deference that has been paid in English literature to German philosophy and German criticism, has created a mythical taste, that has aided other influences to make the Homeric poems less popular. What can we gain from the laborious ingenuity which would prove that Achilles is the sun, and Helen is the moon, and that the other personages have become things? Is the poem strengthened in the work for which it was designed, in its effect on the imagination and

* Beeton's Book of Poetry.

passions? Can we feel that the living, breathing Iliad, an ideal poem? We know what an ideal poem is, for we have the splendid "Fairy Queen," which has been always much praised and never much read. But the sentiments and passions of the Homeric poems run parallel with the life of common life. As one of many proofs of knowledge of human feelings, consider the allusions to the pressure of the hand (*φῶ χερσὶ* planted in the hand) as an expression of love, in the 6th, the 18th and 19th books of the Iliad, and in the 10th, the 11th and 24th books of the Odyssey. By our theory these passages must be attributed to several bards. How rarely is this magnetism used to in modern poetry. Yet mourners are not tired of repeating the desolate cry of Tennyson,

"O for a touch of the vanish'd hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still."

When we regard the Iliad as a contribution of authors acting without conference or concert, how wonderful are the unity of the plot and the striking and unvarying peculiarities of the personages, exhibited in action, and in epithets accurate as a photograph and more descriptive than many words. And these peculiarities must be more apparent to the scholars, who can detect them in the speech attributed to each. When Agamemnon appears, we see the official dignity of one born to command, unlike the quiet independence of that gallant warrior, his brother Menelaus. And the fierce passions of Achilles, and the hearty and showy bearing of Hector, are in strong contrast with the gentle force of the irresistible movement of the wise and always ready Ulysses. These personages are not more likely to be mistaken for each other, than Macbeth, Hamlet, Coriolanus, and Timon

would be. And at that period, when woman's rights were unclaimed, the delicacy and strength of female character were admirably painted. Look at the haughtiness, jealousy, and assumption of Juno; how different from the smiling policy of Venus, and the calm dignity and winning grace of the matron Andromache. Above all, observe the unhappy heroine the peerless Helen, distracted by admiration for the gallant husband she has lost, and contempt for the cowardly fop to whom she is united; and tormented by the numerous family that surrounds her, to whose abuse she repeatedly alludes, in saying, she is but a mischievous female dog. See how unconscious of her charms she is, as she sits humbly and fondly at the feet of good old Priam, and is comforted by his kindness and charitable construction.

But these rambling digressions cannot be prolonged. The antiquary should remember that strangers cannot enter into his joys. If any thing has been said to draw attention to truth and beauty, that have been neglected, and to recommend the more common enjoyment of classical learning, not in vain has your patience endured this exercise.

Respectfully submitted for the Council.

STEPHEN SALISBURY.



REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE record of donations, and other accessions, making part of this report, shows the increase of the last six months to be 593 books, 4,023 pamphlets, 150 files of newspapers, 49 photographs, 4 medals, 8 maps, 16 autographs, 68 prints. Of these all except 99 books and 574 pamphlets are gifts.

That the character of the record may be more easily understood and appreciated, Mr. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, has, in its preparation, aimed at a certain degree of arrangement and classification. Thus the original productions received from members of the society may be seen together. Then follow such other publications as have been presented by the authors themselves. To these succeed miscellaneous donations and additions, documents from learned societies, from States and public institutions—political, charitable, or educational—and the gifts from publishers and proprietors of newspapers and other periodical issues.

Such a method of presentation may well take the place of many particular references which have sometimes been introduced into the body of the report.

It will be seen how much of the world's progress in history, science, literature, and general affairs, is represented in this list of accessions.

While we are conscious of gaining rather than losing ground in our exertions to secure some portion of the various exponents of development in thought and action, we are impressed with the rapid increase of material springing from every field of culture, and demanding a place among the characteristic products of the age. Our means of collection are small in proportion to the abundance of the harvest; but we have the satisfaction of knowing that great results flow from permanent and continuous effort, and of believing that our institution is rapidly gaining a position of strength that should insure both endurance and activity.

specialties of pre-historic archæology and ethnology which are employing the minds of scholars and workers, at this time, so largely, our own country bids fair to furnish contributions of the most instructive kind. The government surveys and explorations still going on at the west, under the charge of Professor Hayden, promise to yield a large amount of novel and suggestive information respecting the condition and habits of a very ancient population in those regions; and, as Dr. Hayden is a member of this society, and has expressed his desire to promote its objects, we may expect to reap a share of the fruits of his observations and discoveries. The remarkable work on the native races of the Pacific coast by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, of San Francisco, not yet completed, of which the first volume has been kindly presented to the society by the Rev. Mr. Waterston, is made to rest on a basis of prolonged and thorough investigation, and exhaustive accumulation of authorities, printed and written, that should afford all the elucidation of which the subject is susceptible.*

* Since this report was submitted Mr. Bancroft has himself presented the published volumes of his work to our library.

Among the gifts from authors, in our list, is a new method of interpreting emblems, and other sculptured figures and designs on ancient monuments, ingeniously applied to aboriginal remains in this country, especially those of Central and Southern America, by Professor Harrison Allen, of the University of Pennsylvania, in an elaborate and careful paper, entitled, "An Analysis of the Life form in Art." If the principles there assumed and illustrated shall be sustained by extended practical application they must shed important light upon very obscure studies.

It is quite time that scholars in this country began to take up seriously the task of determining the historical value of those remarkable vestiges of populous and semi-civilized communities in Mexico and Peru, which are as yet very partially understood. Other nations, and particularly the French, are looking to those regions and their monuments with lively interest and earnest efforts to detect the archaeological secrets which they suggest and conceal. Among the accessions named in the last report was an essay by Mons. Charles Weiner, of Paris, on the institutions, political, religious, and social, of the empire of the Incas—received from the author himself. It was the intention of your librarian to furnish an analysis of this work for the present report; but indispensable engagements have prevented. It would be a pleasant and useful service for some member to undertake, in connection perhaps with the ideas presented by Professor Allen.

The subject of early navigation along the shores of the Pacific side of our country has of late furnished most interesting discussions at the society's meetings; especially on the part of Col. Washburn, Rev. Mr. Hale and Mr. Deane,

who have carefully considered the points in controversy, and, it is believed, have yet much information to present. And now our associate, Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, has sent a copy of his thoroughly prepared and beautifully printed and illustrated analysis of the disputed claims of Verrazano, the Florentine navigator, to the earliest survey of our *eastern* coast, from the 39th to the 44th degrees of latitude. These investigations are gradually reducing the number of dubious questions which strangely obscure the geographical history of the northern continent. The time is approaching, but has not yet arrived, when, by common consent, their proper places as discoverers shall be assigned to each of the bold seamen, before and after Columbus, for whom it is claimed that they have, by accident or design, been independent explorers of portions of the New World.

Col. Thomas H. Wynne's contributions of Virginia's Early History, alas now terminated by his death; Mr. Whitehead's new edition of his History of East Jersey under the Proprietary Government; Mr. Thornton's New England and the English Commonwealth; Mr. Jones's account of the siege of Savannah in 1864, and the Confederate operations in Georgia and the third military district of South Carolina, during General Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea, written from the Confederate point of view, and with much of the feeling incident to that position; and we may add the scientific papers of Professor Pliny E. Chase, which will be observed in our list of accessions, show the activity of other members of the society in historical and literary labors.

The number of town and family histories acknowledged in our list is worthy to be observed. While the facts of

general history and of remote periods are sedulously sought out and registered, the local narratives are filling up the space within the greater outlines, and completing the record of the past.

It will be seen that we are indebted to the gentler sex for some of these compilations; and they are entitled to the credit of succeeding remarkably well in such forms of literary composition.

Of course great pains are taken to gather this class of productions for our shelves. It will be remembered that, at the last meeting of the society, Judge Thomas tendered the sum of two hundred dollars in aid of the purchase of local histories. With a portion of this gift sixty-one valuable publications have been procured, and others will be obtained under the same provision as fast as favorable opportunities occur.

Some valuable works have been received from London on an order for the Davis alcove. The interest of the sum appropriated by Col. Davis, for a collection of books relating to Spanish America, has been reserved till it would serve for a desirable and economical investment in standard publications from the stocks of large dealers. We are indebted to Mr. Green, of the City Library, as we have been on other occasions, for the kindness of permitting our parcels to be sent with those for that institution, thereby relieving us of some cost and trouble. Our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, had provided for the payments to be made in London.

The Assistant Librarian, Mr. Barton, who served in the Sanitary Corps during the late war, has always made it an object of special effort to secure the relics and documents of that eventful period. Large additions have not been made

in that quarter in the last six months, but within a few days we have received from the family of the late Major S. V. Stone, Provost-Marshal of the Worcester District, his entire military papers, and the accounts of his office; consisting of general and particular orders from the War Department, and records of all proceedings under his commission. With these is a rotary machine, neatly made of black walnut, employed in drawing the names of men who were thus drafted into service. All these, and particularly the lists of names, will at some time be regarded with a good deal of interest.

The address of Rev. William Bentley, delivered before the society, October 23, 1816, at the Stone Chapel, in Boston (recently discovered among his papers), has now for the first time been printed, and takes its place in the series of the society's publications.

It has frequently been suggested that a catalogue should be printed of all the manuscript papers in possession of the society. This is not so simple a matter as many persons are apt to imagine. Mr. Barton has recently made a thorough examination of these papers, and has classified and arranged them with a view to develop their character and importance, and facilitate reference to them. This is the first step; and although in such cases, unfortunately, it is not alone *le premier pas qui coûte*, the way is prepared for further progress when the society can afford the expense.

Notice has not been taken heretofore of the invaluable catalogues which have come to us from the Boston Public Library and the Boston Athenæum. That of the Public Library has been received in portions, and at intervals, which have left the fact of completion somewhat undefined; and that of the Athenæum has advanced only to the letter

D, which concludes the first volume. Each of these works has employed the labor of many hands for many years, has received the careful attention of a high order of critical learning and ability, and has required the expenditure of many thousands of dollars. They are deservedly declared, by the best judges, to be among the best productions of their kind. Yet persons who consult them for different purposes would be likely to point out changes or additions which they would regard as improvements, and the want of which seems to them a defect. The difficulty is incident to the task itself; and however long or intently the material of a catalogue may be studied, something will still be found wanting to fulfil the conditions of perfect success—something that might be better expressed, that would convey more fully or exactly the precise information desired; and this apart from any question of accuracy in regard to names or figures.

If catalogues of libraries which are prepared from the books themselves, with the actual titles spread in full before the eye, illustrated and explained by the presence of the work described, have claims to considerate criticism, we may fairly enough assume that our humble endeavor to produce a catalogue of publications, in what is now the United States, prior to the Revolution, derived from miscellaneous sources, such as brief and imperfect references, lists hastily prepared for a casual purpose, and, at best, the incomplete entries of old fashioned catalogues, is entitled to a candid judgment for both the manner and the time of its accomplishment.

Since the first volume of Thomas's History of Printing left the press, and the text of the second was known to be

printed, some impatience has been expressed at the delay attending its publication. The explanation is simple, and it is hoped will be satisfactory. It was found that the catalogue of ante revolutionary publications, originally collected by Mr. Thomas, and continued and arranged by S. F. Haven, Jr., M.D., would occupy too much space for the proportions of the second volume, to which it was to be attached. It was necessary to reduce the length of the titles wherever such a reduction was admissable, implying a revision of the entire catalogue, with as much comparison and verification of titles by means of authorities as was practicable in the circumstances. This process has been going on under fire as it were of the printer's demand for copy; but it has given opportunity for many corrections and additions, particularly with respect to the numerous and perplexing compositions of the Mathers. These are rendered obscure by the abridged titles, furnished by Cotton Mather to his son, where, with an attempted arrangement by years, the date when a sermon was written or preached is often given for that when it was printed, and the brief descriptions are insufficient for identification—leading often to unconscious iteration of the same work by different names.

In many instances we have been able to supply the number of pages, and other desirable particulars, which had not before been obtained, and to correct mistakes.

Whatever may be the absolute success of our enterprise, a foundation will have been laid for a national bibliography such as has not heretofore existed, upon which it will be comparatively easy to build. Our Society has been invited to furnish something appropriate to the centennial celebration of the independence of the United States. What could

be more suitable in its nature, or more proper for us to offer, than these volumes of the history of printing in this country, exhibiting its intellectual growth from its first occupation by civilized men to the period of its maturity as an independent nation? We do not expect to keep them back for that occasion (or indeed for any reason much longer), but shall have them in readiness to answer the call for our representative contribution.

Respectfully submitted,

S. F. HAVEN.

Donors and Donations.

JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York. — His Fifth Annual Report as President of the Trustees of the Lenox Library; Drake's "Shakspeare and His Times," two vols. 4to; and three numbers of the Hulsius collection of voyages.

WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Newark, N. J. — His "East Jersey Under the Proprietary Government," second edition, 1875.

COMMODORE GEO. HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N. — His "Complete List of the Vessels of the United States Navy from 1797 to 1874."

Prof. PLINY E. CHASE, Philadelphia, Pa. — His Papers on "The Jupiter-Cyclical Rainfall," and "The Velocity of Primitive Undulation."

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston. — His "New England and the English Commonwealth;" Gilbert's "Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the year 1788;" and "The Rise and Progress of the Scandinavian Poetry."

Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, Worcester. — His Report on the Condition of the South; thirty-one bound volumes, and six hundred and seventy-three pamphlets.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., Esq., Worcester. — His Reports as Secretary of the Trustees of Worcester City Hospital, and of the Commissioners of Hope Cemetery; one hundred and thirteen pamphlets, and one war map.

Hon. J. CARSON BREVOORT, Brooklyn, N. Y. — His "Verrazano the Navigator."

Col. CHARLES C. JONES, JR., New York. — His "Siege of Savannah in December, 1864, and the Confederate Operations in Georgia and the Third Military District of South Carolina during Gen. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the Sea."

Rev. ISAAC C. WELLCOME, Yarmouth, Me. — His "History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People."

Miss ELLEN D. LARNED, Thompson, Conn. — Her History of Windham County, Connecticut, Vol. 1, 1600 to 1760.

- JOHN K. TIFFANY, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.—His "Philatelic Library," a Catalogue of Stamp Publications.
- Dr. S. P. TUCKERMAN, Boston.—A Collection of his Musical Compositions, finely bound; and the London Chronicle for July 19, 1770.
- Hon. E. W. LEAVENWORTH, Syracuse, N. Y.—His Genealogy of the Leavenworth Family of the United States.
- Rev. C. D. BRADLEE, Boston.—His Baptismal, Marriage and Funeral Hymns; and nine autographs.
- Hon. CYRUS WOODMAN, Cambridge.—His Woodman Genealogy; and Report of the Buxton Centennial Celebration.
- SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Esq., Boston.—His "Narrative Remarks, Expository Notes, and Historical Criticisms of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, and incidentally of the Massachusetts Historical Society;" and three book catalogues.
- Rev. P. B. HERBY, Bedford, N. Y.—His Brief History of the Presbyterian Church at Bedford, N. Y., from the year 1680.
- Mr. WILLIAM J. BUCK, Philadelphia, Pa.—His paper on the Early Discovery of Coal.
- JAMES WILLIAMS, Esq., Columbus, O.—His State Auditor's Report for 1874.
- NATHANIEL T. TRUE, M.D., Bethel, Me.—The Bethel Centennial, 1874, containing Mr. True's Historical Address on that occasion.
- Rev. HENRY W. FOOTE, Boston.—His Sermon occasioned by the death of President Walker.
- Hon. FRANCIS BRINLEY, Newport, R. I.—His Report for the Redwood Library Directors, Sept. 30, 1874.
- Mr. F. W. PUTNAM, Salem.—His "Remarks on the Mammoth Cave, and some of its animals," and on the "Family Nemophila."
- THOMAS S. KIRKBRIDE, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Report for 1874, as Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.
- Prof. EDWARD NORTH, Utica, N. Y.—His paper on Greek Journalism.
- Hon. CLEMENT H. HILL, Washington, D. C.—His argument at the Trial of Whithy, Harrington and Williams, for Conspiracy; three books; and nine pamphlets.
- Rev. EUGENE VETROMILE, Bangor, Me.—His Indian Almanac for 1875.
- EDWIN M. SNOW, M.D., Providence, R. I.—His Report as Superintendent of Health for the year 1873; and one pamphlet.
- THOMAS H. GAGE, M.D., Worcester.—His "Case of Hydrophobia;" five books; two hundred and nineteen pamphlets; and one map.
- Hon. AMASA NORCROSS, Fitchburg.—His Inaugural Address, and other City Documents for 1874.

REV. DANIEL LEACH, Providence, R. I.—His Report as Superintendent of Public Schools, June, 1874.

ALBERT H. HOYT, Esq., Boston —His "Pepperell Papers, with Sketches of Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. James St. Clair, and Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, Bart."

J. H. STICKNEY, Esq., Baltimore, Md.—His Essay on the Township System and its advantages.

HARRISON ALLEN, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Analysis of the Life-Form in Art."

Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH, Andover —History of the Descendants of John Dwight of Dedham, Mass., two vols. 8vo. 1874; and the Andover Theological Seminary Catalogue for 1874-5.

REV. R. C. WATERSTON, Boston. —Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific Coast, Vol. 1, Fairhall's Rambles of an Archæologist, Izaak Walton's Lives; and forty-three photographs of the Indians, and their surroundings, in the Colorado Valley.

WILLIAM LAWTON, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y. —Guide to Northern Archæology; Some Manuscript Notes on the Lawton family; and two newspapers.

ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—Two copies of his Bibliotheca Americana, and one pamphlet

GEO. W. CHILDS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—The Public Ledger Almanac for 1875

REV. S. C. DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, H. I.—Three numbers of "The Friend."

JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y.—Twenty-two pamphlets.

ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O.—Twelve pamphlets; and three newspapers.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston.—Seven books; and fifty-five pamphlets.

REV. GEORGE S. PAINK, Worcester —Eighteen numbers of the American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings.

HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D., Salem.—The "South Danvers Wizard," and "The Peabody Press," 1853 '74.

RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D., Worcester.—Four books; and forty-four pamphlets.

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.—One hundred and two pamphlets; and six files of Newspapers.

HON. THOMAS H. WYNNE, Richmond, Va.—The Colonial Records of Virginia; and the Final Report of the Virginia Commissioners on the Maryland and Virginia boundary.

- NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.**—Two hundred and ninety pamphlets; the Christian Union, in continuation; a parcel of the N. Y. Tribune and other newspapers; and one manuscript.
- Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester.**—Three hundred and twenty-three numbers of Insurance magazines.
- Hon. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, Boston.**—Sixty-one local histories.
- Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester.**—For the Davis Alcove: Thirty-two valuable books and three pamphlets, relating to Spanish America; and for the General Library: sixty-eight books; two hundred and twenty-five pamphlets; and one photograph.
- WILLIAM A. SMITH, Esq., Worcester.**—Two hundred and thirteen numbers of Magazines; six maps; four photographs; and various broadsides and handbills.
- Hon. D. W. LINCOLN, Worcester.**—Forty-eight pamphlets.
- Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, Worcester.**—The "Taft Family Gathering;" and three historical pamphlets.
- Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, Worcester.**—A case of four medals in Commemoration of the Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence.
- Hon. GEORGE F. VERRY, Worcester.**—The Massachusetts Memorial of Charles Sumner.
- Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Washington, D. C.**—Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1874.
- HENRY AUSTIN WHITNEY, Esq., Boston.**—The History of Castine, Penobscot and Brooksville, Maine.
- Hon. PELEG W. CHANDLER, Boston.**—"The New Gloucester Centennial," 1874.
- Hon. HAMILTON A. HILL, Boston.**—Reports of the Massachusetts Commissioners to the Exposition at Vienna, 1873.
- Mr. J. S. WESBY, Worcester.**—The Newton Directory for 1873.
- Mr. DAVID SEWALL MESSENGER, Worcester.**—"Georgeana and York Illustrated;" and five early commissions of Hon. David Sewall.
- Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN, Worcester.**—"Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church," by Rev. E. H. Hall.
- Rev. W. H. SANFORD, Worcester.**—The Early Annals of Newington; one manuscript Sermon; and one proclamation.
- Mr. JEREMIAH COLBURN, Boston.**—The Pedigree of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.
- Mr. JOSHUA B. LYON, Worcester.**—One pamphlet.
- Mrs. HENRY W. SIGOURNEY, Milton.**—The Genealogy of the Sigourney Family.

- SAMUEL C. PERKINS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.**—Proceedings at the laying of the Corner Stone of the New Public Buildings on Penn Square in the City of Philadelphia, July 4, 1874.
- Mr. W. M. JONES, Utica, N. Y.**—An account of Fort Herkimer Church, erected in 1765.
- Hon. GEORGE W. RICHARDSON, Worcester.**—One pamphlet; an early newspaper; and various circulars.
- Mrs. LOT JONES, New York.**—Two historical pamphlets.
- CHARLES H. HART, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.**—One pamphlet.
- Rev. W. R. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Worcester.**—Two pamphlets.
- CLARENDON HARRIS, Esq., Worcester.**—One pamphlet.
- Mr. C. HOLLAND, Chicago, Ill.**—A rebel newspaper.
- Mr. J. BRAINERD HALL, Worcester.**—One autograph; and one card.
- Messrs. SUMNER PRATT & Co., Worcester.**—Twenty-one books, mostly Directories.
- Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester.**—One hundred and sixty-six Technical School Catalogues, 1873-4.
- Rev. W. S. PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y.**—One book and forty-eight pamphlets, relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- Messrs. STRONG & ROGERS, Worcester.**—The Miner's Journal, in continuation; and the Coal and Iron Record for 1874.
- CHARLES F. WASHBURN, Esq., Worcester.**—Eight volumes of Newspapers; and twenty-three Nos. of Magazines.
- Messrs. GROUT & PUTNAM, Worcester.**—Twenty-one books; two hundred and three pamphlets; and one photograph.
- Mr. J. G. SMITH, Worcester.**—Nine books; one hundred and seventy-one pamphlets; sixty-five prints; five charts; and one map.
- Miss MARY C. GAY, Suffield, Conn.**—The Connecticut Courant for 1874.
- PLINY EARLE, M.D., Northampton.**—Two hundred and fifty-four Reports of Insane Asylums.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster.**—Six books; and five pamphlets.
- Mr. A. B. DEAN, Worcester.**—Zion's Herald, 1872-74.
- Mr. RICHARD O'FLYNN, Worcester.**—Two books; and Manuscript matter relating to the Rebellion of 1861-65.
- Mr. C. B. METCALF, Worcester.**—One book; and fourteen pamphlets.
- Mrs. P. S. L. CANFIELD, Worcester.**—"The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University;" and the "Philosophy of Sleep."
- JAMES S. ROGERS, Esq., Worcester.**—Nine Rhode Island Almanacs.
- Miss JOSIE E. ROLLINS, Bedford, N. H.**—Three interesting Manuscripts, of early date.

- HENRY WOODWARD, Esq., Worcester.**—The World's Jubilee Admission Cards, 1869.
- ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose.**—The Catalogue of the Melrose Public Library; and Reports of the Town Officers of Melrose, 1875.
- Messrs. KINNICUTT & Co., Worcester.**—Eighteen books; and forty-four pamphlets.
- Gen. GEORGE H. SHARPE, New York.**—The First, Second, and Third Reports of the Reunions of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.**—Thirty-seven pamphlets.
- C. FISKE HARRIS, Esq., Providence, R. I.**—An Index to American Poetry and Plays in his Collection.
- THE FAMILY OF THE LATE MAJ. S. V. STONE, Worcester.**—The Draft Box used by Major Stone while Provost Marshal of the 8th Massachusetts District. Also nine books and four pamphlets; and other printed and manuscript matter, relating to the Rebellion.
- THE ESTATE OF REV. DANIEL KIMBALL, through B. G. Kimball, Esq., Needham, Mass.**—Forty-six books; and three pamphlets.
- THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.**—The Contributions, Vol. xix.; Collections, Vols. x., xi. and xii.; and Annual Reports for 1871 and 1872.
- THE PALEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.**—Their Fac-Similes of Ancient Manuscripts, Parts 1-3.
- THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.**—The Bulletin. Vol. 6, Nos. 7-12; and Collections, Vol. 12, Part 4, and Vol. 13, Part 1.
- THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Register, as issued; and Proceedings for Jan., 1875.
- THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Their Proceedings, Parts 2 and 3, for 1874.
- THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.**—Their Transactions, Vol. 3, No. 2.
- THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Twenty-first Annual Report.
- THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Fund Publication, No. 3.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.**—Their Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. vi., No. iii.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Journal, Vol. xliii.; and Proceedings, Vol. xviii., Nos. 4 and 5.
- THE COBDEN CLUB.**—Their Annual Report, 1874; and "Essays on Political Economy," by Bastiat.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings, No. 93.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris.**—Their Journal, No. 5, in the year 1874.

- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.**—Their Journal, as issued.
- LA COMMISSION IMPÉRIALE ARCHEOLOGIQUE, St. Petersburg, Russia.**—Their Reports, 1869-71.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.**—The State and Society Laws, 1876.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.**—Their Transactions for 1874, Part II.; and the Schedule of Prizes for 1875.
- THE GRAND LODGE OF MASSACHUSETTS, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.**—Their Proceedings, Sept. 9, 1874.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.**—The Sixty-first Annual Report.
- THE BOSTON BOARD OF TRADE.**—Their Twenty-first Annual Report.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.**—An Account of the Twelfth Exhibition.
- THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.**—Their Magazine, as issued.
- THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF WORCESTER.**—The Fifteenth Annual Report; fifty files of newspapers; and one hundred and twenty-eight pamphlets.
- THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.**—Twenty files of newspapers; one book; and thirty pamphlets.
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.**—Eighteen files of newspapers.
- THE PEOPLE'S CLUB, Worcester.**—Their Third Annual Report; and forty-seven books.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO.**—Their Twenty-second Annual Report.
- THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Additions to the Library from July, 1874, to January, 1875.
- THE VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.**—Nine Vermont State Documents.
- THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**—The Annual Report for 1874.
- THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.**—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.
- THE MANCHESTER PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY.**—The Twenty-second Annual Report.
- THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Bulletin, as issued.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF BALTIMORE.**—A Catalogue of English Prose Fiction to be found in the Library.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.**—The Fifty-first and Fifty-second Annual Reports.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE LIBRARY.**—The Report of the Massachusetts Commissioners to the Exposition at Vienna.

YALE COLLEGE.—The Catalogue of Officers and Students in Yale College.

HARVARD COLLEGE.—The Report of the President, 1873-74.

THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT WORCESTER.—The First Catalogue and Circular, 1874-75.

THE ENGINEER DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.—Four books; and six pamphlets.

THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION. One book; and two pamphlets.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Journal for the June Session, 1874; and Reports for 1874.

THE STATE OF OHIO.—Two State Reports.

THE CITY OF BOSTON.—The Public Documents for 1874, three vols.

THE STATE LUNATIC ASYLUM AT WORCESTER.—The Thirty-ninth Annual Report.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ASYLUM FOR THE BLIND.—A Reprint of the Report of 1829; and the Forty-third Annual Report.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Their Sixth Annual Report.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester.—Eleven books; and a Collection of New York and Boston newspapers.

THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post; and Commercial Bulletin, for 1874; with a parcel of Banker's Lists, etc.

THE MASSACHUSETTS NATIONAL BANK.—Copies of Bills and Certificates of Stock of Massachusetts Bank, Boston.

Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.—Their Monthly Bulletin, as issued.

Mr. E. STEIGER, New York.—His Literarische Berichte, as issued.

Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co., Paris, Fr.—Their Bulletin Manuel, as issued.

Messrs. COOK, SON & JENKINS, New York.—Their Excursionist, as issued.

THE WESTERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.—Their Journal, as issued.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.—Their Journal, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NATION.—About four volumes, to complete the file.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY.—Their papers, as issued: and twenty copies of their Centennial Paper.

PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.—Their papers, as issued.

OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS.—His paper, as issued.	
OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM.—Their paper, as issued.	PE
OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL.—Their paper, as issued.	PE
OF THE BARRE GAZETTE.—His paper, as issued.	PR
OF THE AYER PUBLIC SPIRIT.—His paper, as issued.	"
OF THE WORD.—His paper, as issued.	IN

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report, for the six months ending April 23, 1875.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1874, was \$31,100.64	
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	1,594.58
	\$32,695.22
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . .	1,127.46
	\$31,567.76
<i>The Collection and Research Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1874, was \$15,399.93	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . . .	528.45
	15,928.38
Paid for books and part of Librarian's salary, . . .	323.64
	15,604.74
<i>The Bookbinding Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1874, was \$9,571.52	
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	351.69
	9,923.21
Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary, . . .	395.88
	9,527.33
<i>The Publishing Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1874, was \$9,918.48	
Received for dividends, interest, and from sale of publications, . . .	363.45
	10,281.88
Paid for expenses on History of Printing and for Semi-Annual Report, . . .	852.91
	9,428.97
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1874, was \$11,838.62	
Received for interest since, . . .	397.70
	12,236.32

<i>The Isaac Lewis Fund, Oct. 20, 1874, was</i>		\$752.87	
Received for interest since,		21.72	
		<hr/>	
		774.59	
Paid for books at sundry times,		135.79	
		<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,			638.80
<i>* Lincoln's Legacy Fund, Oct. 20, 1874, was</i>		\$1,272.20	
Received for interest since,		87.08	
		<hr/>	
Total of the Fund,			1,309.28
		<hr/>	
Total of the seven Funds,			\$60,313.20
There is also from Hon. B. F. Thomas,			
for local histories,		\$100 00	
of which has been expended,		82.50	
leaving a balance on hand of			17.50
		<hr/>	
			\$60,330.70
		<hr/>	
Total included in foregoing statement, \$1,060.70			

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$15,100.00	
Railroad Stock,	4,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	11,070.00	
Cash,	497.76	
	<hr/>	\$31,567.76

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,500 00	
Railroad Stock,	1,500 00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00	
Cash,	304 74	
	<hr/>	15,604.74

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,000 00	
Railroad Stock,	1,000 00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00	
County Bonds,	500 00	
Cash,	27 33	
	<hr/>	9,527.33

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,400.00	
Railroad Bonds,.	7,000.00	
City Bonds,.	1,000.00	
Cash,.	28.97	
	<hr/>	9,428.97

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$500.00	
Railroad Stock,.	1,200.00	
Railroad Bonds,.	2,000.00	
City Bonds,.	8,500.00	
Cash,.	86.32	
	<hr/>	12,286.32

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,.	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,.	88.80	
	<hr/>	688.80

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,.	\$1,000.00	
U. S. Bonds,	200.00	
Cash,.	109.28	
	<hr/>	\$1,809.28

Total of the seven Funds, . . .	<hr/> <hr/>	\$80,313.20
---------------------------------	-------------	-------------

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 23, 1875.

We, the undersigned, auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, have examined the above account, and find it to be correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the investments and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS.
EBENEZER TORREY.

WORCESTER, April 23, 1875.

Itt is propounded whither the Islands that lye within everye Pattentees share shall passe (uppon the Devision) as parte of the devident, or be layd out for the publique use.

And that the land maye be devided according as the devision is made in the Plott remayning with D^r Goche.

Further that when the shipp is ready, everye Pattentee send 5 men to settle uppon the State County, and if any neglect sending his number, another maye have liberty to send them.

For that many of the Adventurers fayle payement of their Adventures, And the shipp receaveth great prejudice by stayeing in Whitbye, and runneth on to a great charge Itt is propounded that she be mortgaged to any of the Adventurers already interressed in her for the some of 2000 marckes.

Sir Ferd: Gorges, Sir Sam: Argall, and M^r Treasurer, are contented to ingage themselves with any of the Adventurers each for a 5th or 6th parte of 2000 marckes uppon the Shipp.

Saturday 28 Junij 1623.

THE EARLE OF HOLDERNES.
THE LORD GORGES.
M^r TREASURER.

SIR FERD. GORGES.
SIR HENRY SPELMAN.
SIR SAM: ARGALL.
SIR W^m BELASYS.

Touching the renueing of the Pattent, Sir Henry Spelman is prayed to take the same into his consideraçon.

For that some of the Adventurers excuse their non payem^t in of their adventures, because they knowe nott their shares for which they are to paic, which much prejudiceth the proceedings, Itt is thought fitt that the land of New England be devided in this manner viz^t: — by 20 lotts and eache lott

NOTE. — The first part of these records, at p. 96, ends abruptly, the remaining portion of the MS. from which it was copied having been lost. The last word, "It," was the "catch-word" to the next page wanting. The three pages which now follow have been taken from another MS. recently (1875) discovered. See Proceedings for October, 1875. — EDS.

to conteyne 2 shares. And for that there are not full 40, and above 20 Adventurers, that onely 20 shall drawe those lotts. And the rest that are already, or shall hereafter become Adventurers, shall have one of those shares, butt the proprietor shall first chuse one of the shares and leave the other. And to the end the number of 40 maye be compleat, The adventurer that draweth a double share maye nominate a gent in trust for one share, who if he come nott in for the same before the end of Micha's terme, then the Councell, to nominate one that will accept thereof, and the gent so trusted to resigne the said share uppon demand. And for that some desire to plant in the North and some in the South, Itt is though fitt, that after the lotts are drawne, such Pattentee as hath drawne a double lott either in the North or South, shall have liberty to exchange or to take one share in the others lott. But the proprietor shall still first chuse one share and leave the other.

And that the Islandes shall be graunted unto such Pattentee within whose devident they happen to fall.

And if any differences happen amongst the Pattentees touching their shares or the devision of the land, the Councell shall have power to order and determyne the same.

Touching the Mortgaging of the shipp for that itt is made unto D^r. Barnabe Goche and his Associates for the consideration of 2000 markes att D^r. Goche his instance, The Councell expresse that they did nott conceave that D^r. Goche should be compellable to undertake for more than a 5th or 6th parte, otherwise then he should please. And theruppon the same was signed put sup^r except S^r. Henry Spelman.

This Mortgage was also signed by Richmond & Lennox, Arundle & Surrey, Warwick.

Itt is propounded by the Lo. Vice President, that the lotts maye be made ready and brought to Greenwich to morrowe, which he will humbly present unto the Kinges most excellent Ma^{tie}. And praye his highenes to be pleased, to see the devision made, And to drawe one lott for the Lo. Duke of

Buckingham in his absence, wherefore M^r Treasurer is desired to see the making upp of the lotts.

Sondaie 29^o Junij. 1623.

Att Greenwich.

There were presented to the Kings most excellent Ma^{ty} a Plott of all the Coasts and lands of New England, devided into twenty parts each part conteyning two shares, And twenty lotts conteyning the said double shares made upp in little bales of waxe, And the names of twenty Pattentees by whom these lotts were to be drawne. And for that the Lord Duke of Buckingham was then absent, his Ma^{ty} was graciously pleased to drawe the first lott in his Graces behalf, which conteyned the eight number or share. And the rest of the lotts were drawne as followeth:—

The Lord Duke of Richmond for himself the number of . . .	6
The Earl of Arundle and Surrey	20
For the Lord Keep. drawne by His Ma ^{ty}	17
The Earl of Middlesex	13
The Earl of Warwick	7
The Earl of Holdernes	14
The Earl of Carlile	18
For the Lord Sheffield, drawne by Sir John Bouchier . . .	12
For the Lord Gorges drawne by the Kinges Ma ^{ty}	3
For Sir Robert Mansell drawne by Sir Samuell Argall . . .	15
Sir Ferdinando Gorges	19
Sir Alleyn Apsley	10
For Sir Henry Spelman drawne by the Lord Duke of Rich- mond	11
Sir Samuell Argall	2
Sir William Bellasys	16
Doctor Barnabe Goche	1
For Doctor Mattheve Sutcliffe drawne by Doctor Goche . .	4
For Cap ^t Thomas Love drawne by Sir Samuell Argall . . .	9
For M ^r Abraham Jenings drawne by Sir Sam. Argall . . .	5
[The Lord Duke of Buckingham drawn by his Ma ^{ty} as above.]	8

ERRATA.

This table of Errata is the result of a collation of the Carew MS. with the Society's printed copy.

Page. Line.
59, 25, read "renewing of y^e patent."
59, last, "The business" begins a new paragraph
60, in margin, after Audite, read "appointed," &c.
60, 3, read "to tye these Marchants," &c.
60, 5, read "Dr. Gouche."
61, 16, dele "apeece"
62, in margin, read "H^{on}. Spelman desired to conceive," &c.
62, 13, read "staying of," &c.
63, 4, between "reach" and "Miles" a blank space.
63, 15, for y^e, read "they."
65, 6, for to, read "unto."
65, last, for receipt, read "expect."
66, top, for Muntiles, read "munition."
66, 9, for Johnson, read "Johnston."
66, 25, for Atty^r Treasr., read "Att y^r," &c.
66, 28, for these shippes, read "these ships."
66, in margin, for Aud resolutions, read "8 resolutions"
67, 2, read "their reason, because that the unsketing," &c.
67, 12, for shippes, read "ships."
67, 15, for them, read "hym"
67, 28, read "delivered either."
67, 30, read "received there"
68, 25, after y^e, follows "Frenche," but with a pen drawn through it.
69, 12, after Infidell, read "there is," &c.
69, 28, for Hon^r, read "Hon^r"
70, 4, "And that" begins a new paragraph; for patient, read "commission"
71, 8, for this Adventure, read "his adventure." In margin of this paragraph "misentred, rule 22 Nov"
71, 21, for X^pie read "Christopher," and for Launcy, read "Launcey."
72, 13, read "clearing of."
73, 12, read "craft"
73, 17, read "provisions."
73, 30, read "Whitby"
74, 6, page is underlined, and "Unipa" in the margin
74, in margin, against next paragraph, "his intrat"
76, 8, read "Whitby"
76, 21, read "£ 110."
76, in margin, "Capt Love promiseth."
76, 18, for any that, read "any who."
76, 20, read "provisions."
77, 20, Bll blank with "30"
77, 27, read "necessarily"
77, in margin, read, "repaymt of moneys," &c.
78, on top margin, "Whereas Capt^r. Franor-
dis Jones under p^r" but a pen has
been struck through it.
79, 15, for In what Number, read "in what
manner"
79, 22, for tilling read "tillage."
80, 9, for that had, read "as had."

Page. Line.
80, 13, read "demand thereof."
80, 14, read "the sayd patentee."
80, 27, for also read "likewise"
81, 26, for money read "moneys."
81, in margin, for "is directed," dele is.
82, top, read "Menahigan."
82, 12, read "Whitby"
82, below, in margin, read "Mr. Amb. Jen-
nings to overlooke," &c., also "Mr
Abr Jennings pticulars," &c.
83, against "Sir Henry Spelman," &c., is
written in margin "his intrat."
83, 25, 26, 31, read "proclamacons."
84, 3, read "said 3 Shippes."
84, 12, read "consider of."
84, 25, read "S^r John Bourchier."
84, 29, for Lease, read "seate."
84, in margin, for Seale, read "seate."
85, 6, read "Grants be passed."
85, 15, read "to New England."
85, 24, not a new paragraph
85, 29, "Whereas" begins new paragraph
86, top, read "returned answers."
86, 32, read "not well taken."
86, 35, read "Command"
87, 8, read "proclamacons."
87, 9, read "or putter"
87, 28, read "redelivery."
87, 35, in margin, "Harbey."
87, last, read "nor any one"
87, in margin, read "licence to Mr. Bush-
role"
88, 7, read "the some of £110," &c.
88, 17, read "Emanuel Althem."
88, 20, read "of all such prizes."
88, 22, for position, read "petition."
89, 17, "And that," new paragraph.
89, 29, read "unto Mr. Jo^r Pierce."
90, 3, read "acquaint"
90, 6, "The Marshal," begins new par.
91, 13, for that then, read "to th^e end."
91, 14, "Upon" begins new paragraph.
91, 31, "If further" begins new paragraph.
92, 13, read "present complaint."
92, 26, read "at Plymouth"
93, 13, read "1621, &c."
93, in margin, read "60 acres."
93, 19, "And that" new paragraph.
94, 13, after print, &c., read "p. cart. cod.
die" All the following entries
under this date have the substance
of them in brief in the margin.
94, 23, blank filled up with "was dated."
94, last, read "sealed and signed."
95, 14, read "Whitby"
95, 20, read "Edmund Brudnell, gent."
95, 29, read "Edmund Brudnell, gent."
96, 6, read "for £100"
96, 12, for into, read "in to."
Pages 84 and 96, read "The Earle of Hold-
erness Vice-President," and "Lord
Vice-President."

No 65.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT WORCESTER.

OCTOBER 21, 1875.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE
1876.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1875.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1876.



CONTENTS.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	28
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	31
DONORS AND DONATIONS	41
RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND	49
THE CRIMINAL LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS	65



PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1875, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN read the report of the Council.

Mr. HAVEN, the Librarian, and Mr. PAINE, the Treasurer, read their reports, which, together with that of Dr. GREEN, were accepted, on motion of Judge Thomas, and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The President read letters from Lord HOUGHTON, Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, Commodore PREBLE, and Maj. BEN. PERLEY POORE, members of the Society, stating their regret at being deprived of the pleasure of attending this meeting.

The Rev. Dr. H. M. DEXTER spoke of the great interest Lord HOUGHTON had expressed to him, in the objects of the Society. He is Lord of the Manor of Scrooby, where the Mayflower Community had their home, and all American historical research on English soil meets not only his cordial approval and sympathy, but his hearty coöperation.

The Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH and Rev. E. H. HALL were appointed to collect the ballots for President. They

rted that the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY was unanimously elected. Mr. SALISBURY, in a few words, accepted office.

on. G. F. HOAR, Dr. JOSEPH SARGENT, and Rev. Dr. REE were appointed a committee to present nominations the remaining offices.

ey made the following report, and the gentlemen named herein were unanimously elected by ballot :

Vice Presidents :

Hon. BENJ. F. THOMAS, LL.D., of Boston.
JAMES LENOX, Esq., of New York.

Council :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.
SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., of Worcester.
Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D., of Charlestown.
Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, LL.D., of Worcester.
Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.
SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., of Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.

Rev. E. E. HALE, of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Auditors :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, of Fitchburg.

The President called attention to the fact that the materials for the notice of Col. WYNNÉ, in a former report of the Council, were principally furnished by his friend, RICHARD A. BROCK, Esq.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., reminding the Society of the fragmentary state in which the Records of the Great Council of New England were, spoke of a very important discovery which had been made within a few months. He referred to the finding of three additional pages, determining the date of the division of the New England coast among the Patentees. Mr. DEANE read a portion of his notes on the subject, and the Society unanimously voted, on motion of Judge Thomas, that he be requested to prepare them for publication with the proceedings of this meeting.

Rev. A. P. PEABODY, D.D., after a humorous allusion to the fact that the report of the Nominating Committee had omitted the titles of the gentlemen named therein, said that

he could now authoritatively state that the letter recently published, purporting to be written by Thomas Carlyle, in which that eminent man treats with contempt the action of Harvard University in conferring an honorary degree upon him, is a hoax. This declaration by Dr. PEABODY was received with much satisfaction by the Society.

The Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH was called upon by the President to read an essay he was supposed to have prepared, on the subject of the criminal laws of the Colony and Commonwealth. Judge ALDRICH, in response, stated that he had not brought his notes on the subject with him, but had given the subject thought during a vacation period, and stated the points which had impressed him chiefly in relation to it. He had considered the condition of the laws at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, traced their changes to the present time, and sought to ascertain the moving causes of those changes. Judge ALDRICH did not believe in the theory of the present epidemic of crime. He believed there never was a time when, on the whole, life and property were more secure than now. He believed that any attempt to excite alarm and apprehension was unwise and unwarrantable. Nor was he willing to assign to the "tramp nuisance" so important a relation to crime as had of late been claimed for it.

Judge ALDRICH's remarks were listened to with marked attention, and it was voted that he be requested to furnish his notes for publication with the proceedings of this meeting.

Hon. B. F. THOMAS spoke of some of the suggestions of Judge ALDRICH. He desired to express his hearty concurrence in the belief that the present time was the best time

that had ever existed. He believed the country was better off in every respect than fifty years ago — the people wiser, more moral, more truly religious. The idea that we were degenerate sons was one against which he would protest with all the emphasis of hearty conviction.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, in behalf of the clergy, expressed the hope that Judge ALDRICH's paper would be printed, as containing most valuable suggestions and facts for the use and encouragement of that profession.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR also added a few words upon the same subject. He illustrated the tendency of men to look back for the era of purity in morals and politics, by reading a few lines from a poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Dartmouth College, in 1803, by J. Warren Brackett.

Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, Rev. Dr. DEXTER, Rev. Dr. ELLIS, and Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, briefly remarked upon the general subject brought forward by Judge ALDRICH.

The Recording Secretary submitted the recommendation by the Council of the following gentlemen for membership of the Society: EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., of Dedham; Rev. W. R. HUNTINGTON, D.D., of Worcester; and they were, by ballot, unanimously elected.

The annual meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN accordance with a long custom, as authoritative as the By-Law which requires it, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully submit their semi-annual report, on its condition. They find it an agreeable duty to note the continued prosperity of the library. Its growth during the six months has been steady and satisfactory, and its use has been very generally extended to scholars and others, who have come hither—some from a long distance—to consult its books. The accession of pamphlets has been large, and while many of them are of no special rarity, some of them are of a good deal of value. It is impossible to say with truth that an ordinary pamphlet is worthless, for the time may come when its humble pages will furnish an obscure date that is wanted to fill a great gap. Or it may furnish a single fact that will fit in between two other facts, and the three will come together, like pieces of a puzzle, and be broad enough to establish a principle. Mr. Savage has said that he would give a hundred dollars a line for five lines about John Harvard. The time was when every incident in Harvard's life could have been given in detail, but it was not known then that he was to found a college which was to spread out into a great university. Just such information as Mr. Savage wanted is furnished every

day in pamphlets, about some modest benefactor whose name may stand at some future period as John Harvard's does, but whom nobody cares for now. How valuable would be even a half-dozen lines about Shakspeare, such as might have been written by the most insignificant pamphleteer of his age,—such as perhaps was written, but which, for the want of an Antiquarian Society, was lost to posterity. We have the authority of Milton that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet than a fool will do of sacred Scripture. A hint in even an old almanac may put an author on the right track in following a subject. We find the trace where we little expect to find it. Nothing, according to a French proverb, is more probable than the improbable.

The sure and safe way then is for an antiquarian library to collect anything and everything in the shape of a book, pamphlet, broadside or ballad, on the supposition that the time may come when it will pay to winnow the chaff to find the grain. This holds good particularly in a new country, where society is not wholly formed,—is somewhat transitory in its character,—and its best reflection is found in the local literature. The habits of thought of a people are best shown in what comes from the printing-press. Everywhere, the demand regulates the supply; and this is true of literary matters as of grosser materials. The train of public thought at the present time is sufficiently indicated by present publications. Never before was printing used so much as now to scatter abroad individual opinions and new ideas in religion, morals, philosophy, political economy, and other questions that strike deep into the human mind. And in no other country is this means employed so much as in our own, because printing is cheap, the press free and reading general.

To preserve this reflection of our age for future generations, these pamphlets are of great value and should be saved.

The Council are glad to know that particular pains have been taken by Mr. Haven and Mr. Barton to collect local histories and historical addresses. Special efforts have been made now for several years to obtain such publications. These are usually printed in small editions and soon become scarce. The books of this class are added by the generosity of Judge Thomas, who provided means to buy for the library many volumes that were wanted for its shelves. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of an accurate town history. It deals with the first principles and the simplest form of political organization, which are the characteristic features of a town government. It goes back to the beginning, and furnishes an abundance of the raw material to the general historian who comes afterwards and who views the subject from a broader stand-point. A town is fortunate, indeed, that has a local antiquary to write its history. The earlier such an undertaking is begun, the better, as the sources of information are, in part, the old inhabitants whose tenure of life is slender; in part, private collections of letters and papers which are liable to be scattered and lost after the death of the owners.

The Council take pleasure in calling the attention of the Society to the Indian relics displayed in the cabinets. Since the endowment of the Peabody Museum, at Cambridge, the subject of American Archaeology has been studied with increased zeal, and a new impetus has been given to this branch of science. Anything connected with the North American Indians is deemed worthy of the study of the antiquary. The stone tools and weapons of the Aborigines

—with the fragments of their pottery and the remains of their shell-heaps—furnish much that is known about the habits and customs of that unfortunate race. It is a singular fact that certain forms of domestic implements among them are nearly identical with those found among primitive people in other and distant parts of the world. The true explanation of this doubtless is that they are the simplest expression of human needs. Give to savage races a want, and they will find a common remedy if within their reach. Limited as is the language of these relics, they speak with unmistakable sound. Some of them tell of the skill required to form them and of the cunning craftsmen that lived in those days. Others reveal that the material was brought in the rough from a distance, and then fashioned by the native artisans. The shell-heaps make known the character of their food, in part, with all the certainty of a bill of fare at the Parker House, and wild game was considered then as much of a luxury as now. The ornamentation on their pottery shows an artistical taste, an impulse towards the beautiful, which they themselves could neither explain nor understand.

The report of the Librarian, which forms a part of the report of the Council, gives the accessions in detail, and makes such statements and suggestions as may seem proper. They show that the Library was never more useful than now, and that its friends keep it constantly in mind. The report of the Treasurer, also making a part of this report, shows a healthy condition of the funds. They are invested rather with a view to safety and security than to large dividends.

It is the sad duty of the Council to note the deaths in the

Society, of which five have occurred since the last meeting.

Jean Frédéric de Waldeck, who was chosen a member of this Society October 23, 1839, died in Paris, on the second of May last. He was distinguished not only as a traveller and an artist, but also as having passed, by nearly a decade, the disputed boundary of the hundredth year of life. He was born March 16, 1766, and at the time of his death had reached the remarkable age of 109 years, one month and 14 days. There seems to be no reasonable doubt about the date of his birth. He came from an ancient family of Prague, and from an early period of his life was engaged in labors that kept him in the world's eye. His case in this respect is unlike the instances of extreme old age so frequently reported in this country among the lower classes—notably among the blacks—where the absence of registration of the time of birth gives the opportunity for extravagant reports which cannot be refuted. When only nineteen years of age he went with Levaillant to the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa. On his return to Paris, in 1788, he began the study of art and worked under the direction of David and Prud'hon. This experience was afterwards of much service to him in his travels.

In the year 1793 de Waldeck was present at the siege of Toulon, and in 1794 joined the army in Italy as a volunteer. In 1798 he followed the expedition into Egypt, not as a soldier, however, but as an observer. After the failure of Napoleon's designs in that region, de Waldeck determined to travel in Africa, and accordingly, he set out with four other adventurers on an expedition which was to traverse the continent from north to south. Sickness, however, attacked the little party, and his four companions died, leaving him alone.

He was able only to reach the Portuguese settlements on the coast after four months of danger and privation. In the year 1819 he visited Chili, and later made an archaeological expedition in Guatemala, and on his return established himself in London. Here he was engaged in preparing the lithographic drawings which were to illustrate a work upon the ruins of Palenque and Chiapas. Thinking that the designs he had been employed to put on stone were incorrect, he determined to visit the ruins for himself, which he did, and passed three years studying them in detail, and making maps of the region. On his return to Europe, after an absence of twelve years in the New World, he sold to the French government his drawings made in Palenque, and their publication was begun in 1863. After his one hundredth year he himself made the lithographs for the work. Ten years ago two of his pictures attracted considerable attention, because he had put on the frame these words: "Recreations of a Centenarian"—an inscription that is beyond the reach of most artists.

Mr. George Brinley, of Hartford, died on the sixteenth of last May, at Hamilton, Bermuda, whither he had gone in the hope to regain failing health. He was born May 15, 1817, and at the time of his death was just 58 years of age. His father was George Brinley, of Boston, at one time a prominent merchant of that city, and his mother, Catharine Putnam, was a granddaughter of General Israel Putnam. During a sojourn in Florida, more than a year ago, he contracted a malarial fever from which he never recovered.

Mr. Brinley was a man of elegant tastes and a learned bibliographer, always ready to impart his knowledge to those who desired information. He devoted himself chiefly

to literary pursuits and had collected a remarkable library, particularly rich in books relating to early American history, and in those of early American imprint. It contains six fine copies of Eliot's Indian Bible. There are but few libraries in the country of equal value or of greater extent.

Mr. Brinley was elected a member of this Society October 23, 1846, and has at various periods made valuable gifts to the library. At the last annual meeting the Librarian's report contained an account of his generosity in having, at his expense, the Society's copy of the second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible pass through elaborate processes of reparation, completion and binding, in the establishment of Francis Bedford, of London. The honorary degree of A.M. was conferred upon him by Yale College, in 1868. He was president of the Trustees of the Wadsworth Library, and vice president of the Wadsworth Athenaeum, at the time of his death. For many years he was an active director in the Phoenix Bank, as well as one of the trustees in the State Savings-Bank.

The Honorable Edward Mellen, one of the oldest members of the Worcester bar, died at Wayland, May 24th. He was born in Westboro', September 26, 1802, graduated at Brown University in 1823, and was admitted to the bar in Middlesex County, in 1828. He opened an office in East Cambridge, where he continued to practise until the autumn of 1830, when he removed to Wayland. Here he remained, practising chiefly in the Courts of Middlesex County until 1847, when he was appointed, by Governor Briggs, a justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Seven years later he was made, by Governor Washburn, Chief Justice of the same Court, which position he held until 1859, when the Court

was abolished and the Superior Court established in its stead. On retiring from the bench, Judge Mellen opened an office in Worcester and continued to practise until the infirmities of age rendered it impossible for him to attend to professional labor. For several years after this he remained at his home in Wayland, gradually failing in health and strength, until at last paralysis ended his life. He was an industrious lawyer and an upright judge. His reading and information, beyond the limits of his profession, were extensive and accurate. He became a member of this Society October 22, 1860, and from 1861 to 1865, was its Recording Secretary. For several years he was one of the trustees of Brown University. The Doctorate of Laws was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater in 1854.

The Reverend Charles Wentworth Upham died June 15, at Salem. He was the son of Joshua Upham, of Brookfield, Massachusetts, and was born in the city of St. John, New Brunswick, May 4, 1802. His father was a descendant of an old colonial family and a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1763,—a class-mate, room-mate and life-long friend of the Honorable Timothy Pickering,—whose life was afterwards completed by the subject of this notice. During the Revolutionary War the father incurred the displeasure of the Whigs, and on that account was compelled to leave his home. He went to New Brunswick, where he was made a judge of the Supreme Court and a member of the council. His son Charles entered college at Cambridge, in 1817, and graduated in due course, taking high rank among his classmates, of whom many became distinguished men in different parts of the country. Passing through the usual course of theological study at the Divinity School, he was invited soon

after to become the associate pastor of the First Church in Salem, with the Reverend John Prince. At that period, the old fires of sectarian strife were still raging, and Mr. Upham was thoroughly imbued with the controversial spirit of the day. Here he remained until December 8, 1844, when he was obliged to resign, on account of an affection of the throat. He afterwards devoted himself to literary labors, and ultimately became prominent in political affairs. At one time he edited the *Christian Review*, and at another the *Christian Register*, besides contributing to the *North American Review* and other publications of high character. He delivered orations, eulogies and addresses, on public occasions, many of which have been printed.

Mr. Upham took an active part in the political canvass of 1848, advocating the claims of General Taylor; he was Mayor of Salem in 1852; a State Representative and Senator for several years, and for two years was the presiding officer of the Senate; a member of the 33d Congress of the National House of Representatives, a member of the State Constitutional Convention, in 1853, besides holding other public positions, all which he filled with dignity and honor. He was chosen a member of this Society October 21, 1855.

Among his writings are these: "Letters on the Logos," published in 1828; "Lectures on Witchcraft," 1831; "Life of Sir Henry Vane," for Sparks's *American Biography*, 1835; "Life of John C. Fremont," 1856; and "Salem Witchcraft," in two volumes, 1867. He wrote a memoir of the Reverend John Prince, which is in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and other memoirs for "The National Portrait Gallery." The "Life of Timothy Pickering" was his latest work of magnitude.

He also wrote a Life of George Washington, in the form of an autobiography, which was printed in 1840. The publication of this work gave rise to litigation, as it was considered an infringement of the copyright held by Mr. Sparks, and the author and publishers were restrained by injunction from making it public. The stereotype plates, however, had been cast and a few impressions struck off, without the knowledge of Mr. Upham. The writer of this report remembers showing him, six years ago, a copy of this edition, bearing the imprint of Boston, which was the first time he had ever seen one, and he so wrote on the fly-leaf of one of the volumes. The plates were afterwards taken to England, where an edition of the work was published.

Professor Increase Allen Lapham, of Milwaukee, died suddenly September 14. He was born at Palmyra, New York, March 7, 1811, and was chosen a member of this Society April 27, 1853. At one time he was a civil engineer, employed on the Welland canal, and afterwards on the canal around the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, Kentucky. He was, from 1833 to 1835, secretary of the Ohio Board of Canal Commissioners, and in 1838 he removed to Milwaukee, where he lived until the time of his death. In 1862 he was chosen president of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and in 1873 was appointed State Geologist and began making a thorough geological and topographical survey of the State. At one time he was president of the Old Settlers' Club, of Milwaukee county.

He was a prolific writer, having been a frequent contributor to scientific journals and other publications. Among his productions are, "Wisconsin, its Geography, Topography, History, Geology and Mineralogy," which passed through

two editions; "Geological Map of Wisconsin," and "Antiquities of Wisconsin." He was a hard worker and a diligent scholar. In 1860 Amherst College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It was a common custom of his to get into a boat and pull off for a few hours' fishing in Oconomowoc lake. Usually there was some one with him, but on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 14, he went alone, and in the early evening he was found in the bottom of the boat, lying lifeless upon his face, his hand tightly clutching one of the oars. He had suffered for some years from an affection of the heart, and this was the probable cause of his death.

The appearance of a fourth volume of the History of New England, by a member of this Society, is an event of sufficient importance in the literary history of the country to be mentioned in this report. The volume treats of an important period, extending from the expulsion of Sir Edmund Andros to the removal of Governor Belcher by the British Government, in 1741. This includes the witchcraft tragedy and the administration of Joseph Dudley. The work shows in every page the thoroughness of research, the accuracy of statement and the elegance of style that are found only in the writings of the most accomplished historians. The scholars of the country will await with eager anticipation the fifth and last volume, which will complete the provincial history of New England.

There is a tendency in the human mind to divide time into round periods, and with the average man there is a fascination about a century which does not belong to other divisions of time. It is a sentiment not wholly destitute of reason. In our decimal notation the number *ten* plays an important

part and is a kind of unit. Etymologically it is connected with the fingers of the hand, and a hundred, etymologically as well as numerically ten tens, is a large unit, a natural division of duration. Some thousands of years ago, and yet a million of years removed from the period of the man monkey, to our rude Sanskrit or Aryan speaking ancestor, ten of his companions ranged in a line, each with all the fingers outstretched, may have vividly represented the primitive meaning of dakan-dakanta—ten tens,—tihn-tihund, hund, hundred, hundare, centuria, century. This is a space of time so long that it is very rarely covered by a human life—so long that the recollection of not one human being in a million goes back to its beginning. It is so far back in the past that the events are sufficiently shrouded in obscurity to be favorable for the use of the imagination. And yet this great unit of time is so short that we all have talked with those—our grandsires perhaps—who lived one hundred years ago—so short that we are still interested in the deeds, and sympathize with the actors, of that time.

Recognizing then this sentiment, we come to the fact that it is now a century since the war of the Revolution began. It is true that the causes which led to it were smouldering for many years before 1775, but it was not until then that they burst forth into flames and fired the public mind. It was then that the first general resistance was made to the power with which successful rebellion had never grappled. It was then that the first battles were fought in the war that created the United States of America. It is impossible to have now a clear understanding of the feelings of hope and doubt and despair that agitated the hearts of the men and women of that time. It is enough to know that the

men contended with the enemy in the field and that the women struggled with hardships at home. And it is highly fit now that these deeds should be commemorated anew by ceremony and speech. In this way public attention is called to the merits and virtues of the men of that period, and while this will not affect them, it may be of service to us. It was eminently proper, therefore, that the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, which has occurred since the last meeting of the Society, should be noted in a marked manner. The orator of the day was distinguished by his services in peace and in war, and was himself a descendant of one of the heroes of the Battle. His felicitous effort was not the least part of the success that attended the celebration. From the wide-spread enthusiasm excited by the affair throughout the country we foresee that the national centennial celebration of next year will prove all that its most ardent friends desire. We shall have the material interests of the country shown to the world on a vaster scale than has ever before been exhibited. Such periodical displays mark from time to time, the progress in the different departments of labor. The development of the agricultural and mechanical industries, during the last few years even, would astonish those not familiar with the facts. New trades have sprung up and others have been developed, in what was lately the wilderness, furnishing employment to thousands of workmen who have made the forests give way to towns and cities. Railways radiating from hives of human industry and intersecting with other centres of business, have been built to exchange the products of labor. The locomotive traverses, daily, vast plains hardly yet relinquished by herds of buffaloes. Mountains have been scaled and pierced,

which until now have stood as impassable barriers. It is not necessary to go back a hundred years to note the contrast, for we ourselves see it,—*magna pars fuimus*. Much as preceding generations have bequeathed to us, the present age has done its share for the material interests of posterity.

The electric telegraph, an invention of our times, practically annihilating space in the sending of messages, has worked wonders in science and in the more practical affairs of life. By means of it the words of Puck become a reality when he says :

I'll put a girdle round about the Earth
In forty minutes.

If the ocean telegraph had been in operation at that time, the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, would not have been fought. It occurred a fortnight after the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, though the tidings of this treaty were not received until a month after the battle. The chances are that Andrew Jackson would not have been president of the United States if he had not gained that battle, nor would Martin Van Buren have succeeded to the same high position if he had not been associated with him. This will serve as an illustration of the influence the telegraph may have on human affairs.

The many inventions for saving labor originate in this modern spirit of advance and improvement. Mills are run by intricate and ingenious machinery that can do almost anything but think and talk. And there is a class of inventions so domestic in their character that they seem almost like members of the family. The sewing-machine, of which there are so many varieties, is in daily use throughout the

country. In a single hour it will do the work which a pair of hands cannot do in a whole day. The effect of these labor-saving machines is to give somebody more leisure or more time for other work. Whatever increases the power of labor cheapens the product, and adds to human comfort and enjoyment.

The genius of invention and discovery will not rest here, but will continue through the second century of our national existence. There will be new principles established and new applications of old principles, and those who witness the bi-centennial celebration of our country will look back on us very much as we look back on those who founded our government. It fell to them to contend with a foreign enemy, but it falls to us to deal with one that is domestic and not confined to any section. The great danger now is the lack of honesty in private and official life. This comes from the haste to get rich on the part of avaricious men, the large fortunes made by contracts with the government during the Rebellion serving as evil examples. Other causes favor this condition of things, but these are the main ones. There have been of late some startling instances of dishonesty all over the land, and the country appears to be passing through an epidemic of crime. In its character it may be a condition incident to the peculiar and exceptional circumstances of the last fifteen years. If so, one may regard it as an infantile disease like measles or chicken-pox, which the nation is having in its youth. It should be remembered that centuries are to a people what a few years are to an individual. During the reign of William III. there seems to have been a similar state of affairs in England. Macaulay says that "the peculation and venality by which

the official men of that age were in the habit of enriching themselves had excited in the public mind a feeling such as could not but vent itself, sooner or later, in some formidable explosion." And he tells how the City of London and the East India Company, the two wealthiest corporations in the Kingdom, had been largely employed for the purpose of corrupting great men, and how public money, issued from the Exchequer for a special purpose, had been diverted into the pockets of speculators. And how money had been returned to the giver when detection was near, how large sums had mysteriously disappeared and could not be traced. The student of the history of England in the years 1694-95 will recognize the exact counterpart of these transactions in this country and in this very day. The newspapers tell us of Credit Mobilier, of Pacific Mail subsidies, of embezzlements in building and repairing court houses, state houses and post offices, of canal jobs, and frauds in the Indian supplies. The story of infamy sounds like a twice-told tale. From this disgraceful disease we also shall recover; it is not a symptom of incurable national decay and corruption.

At the centennial exhibition the progress in the different branches of our industry will be clearly set forth. The strides that have been taken onward are both rapid and long. The manufactories of the East, the plantations of the South, the large farms of the West and the mines of the still farther West will all be represented. The people of these sections will come together and profit by the association. But the lesson of the hour will not be learned unless it tends to heal old troubles and past differences. It will be found out that there is good in all and that none are all good. A better acquaintance with one another will promote

better opinions of one another. Every one will see something in his neighbor to commend, and perhaps something in himself to correct.

For the Council,

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following Annual Report for the six months ending October 20, 1876.	
General Fund, April 23, 1875, was	\$81,567.76
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	1,162.46
	<hr/>
	\$82,730.22
Paid for repairs and incidental expenses, . . .	1,152.95
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$81,577.27
<i>The Collection and Research Fund, April 23, 1875, was \$15,604.74</i>	
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	458.98
	<hr/>
	16,063.72
Paid for books and part of Librarian's salary, . . .	259.20
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$15,804.52
<i>The Bookbinding Fund, April 23, 1875, was \$9,527.33</i>	
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	262.50
	<hr/>
	9,789.83
Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary,	788.15
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$9,001.68
<i>The Publishing Fund, April 23, 1875, was \$9,428.97</i>	
Received for dividends,	285.97
	<hr/>
	9,714.94
Paid for expense on History of Printing, and for printing semi-annual report,	861.17
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$8,853.77
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund, April 23, 1875, was . . \$12,236.32</i>	
Received for dividends and interest since, . . .	377.50
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$12,613.82

<i>The Isaac Davis Fund, April 23, 1875, was</i>	\$638.80	
Received as addition to the Fund, from Hon.		
Isaac Davis,	400.00	
Received for interest since April 23, 1875, . .	18.50	
Present amount of the Fund,		\$1,057.30
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund, April 23, 1875, was . . .</i>	\$1,809.28	
Received for interest since,	38.50	
Present amount of the Fund,		\$1,347.78
Total of the Seven Funds,		\$80,256.14
There is a balance from the donation of Hon. B. F.		
Thomas, for the purchase of Local Histories, of	2.15	2.15
		\$80,258.29
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement, . .		\$588.29

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,900.00	
Railroad Stock,	4,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	11,070.00	
County Bonds,	500.00	
Cash,	207.27	
		\$31,577.27

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,900.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,500.00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00	
Cash,	104.52	
		\$15,804.52

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,000.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00	
Cash,	1.68	
		\$9,001.68

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$800.00	
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	53.17	
	<hr/>	\$8,853.77

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Railroad Stock,	\$1,200.00	
Railroad Bonds,	2,000.00	
City Bonds,	3,500.00	
Bank Stock,	900.00	
Cash,	13.82	
	<hr/>	\$12,613.82

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

Railroad Stock,	\$400 00	
City Bonds,	500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	57.80	
	<hr/>	\$1,057.80

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000 00	
U. S. Bonds,	100 00	
Bank Stock,	100 00	
Cash,	147 70	
	<hr/>	\$1,347.78
Total of the seven Funds,		<hr/> \$80 256 14

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 20th, 1875.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS, }
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, October 21, 1875

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE list of accessions during the last six months, if it has no features of peculiar interest and importance, shows no falling off in the character and average numbers of our semi-annual statements.

This record of additions to the library, in the way of gifts, exchanges, deposits, and other modes of increase, may fairly enough be regarded as a means of estimating the activity of archæological and historical pursuits in the community, as well as the degree of public favor to our particular institution. If the different departments of national history, the history of towns, of families and persons, of parties and sects, through their organs, and the results of research or scientific progress by learned bodies, are well represented, we may infer that the general interest in such studies is well sustained; and if the members and friends of our society maintain their customary thoughtfulness and liberality in contributions to the library, it is presumptive evidence of good influences emanating from it.

It will be observed that two American works belonging to the highest class of history are mentioned in the list, viz: Mr. Herbert H. Bancroft's elaborate volumes on the Native Races of the Pacific Coast, and the 4th volume of Dr. Palfrey's History of New England. The first three volumes

...tion
...the terri-
...given to a
...territory
...States.
...extensive
...ation
...them
...competent

...tion
...James
...competent
...yes
...the
...and
...of
...the
...the

...New
...ing

crowning labor of his life. A faithful and honest narrative of events occurring in New England from the settlement of the country to the eve of its political independence, having the attractions of finished literary merit also, is an acquisition to be duly appreciated. Many of the questions that have from time to time separately come before this Society for elucidation, Dr. Paltrey has considered, and virtually settled, in their proper connection with the other questions of their period, and with the general history of the country.

In connection with these two publications, the one relating to western archæology, the other to the history of our own particular section of country, we may refer to the Reports of United States exploring expeditions in the remarkable regions of the Yellow Stone River, so prolific of discoveries, ethnological as well as geological, that have come to us from the Government, as belonging with the first, and to the new edition of the Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., 1744-1775, edited by Miss E. S. Quincy, and received from her, which is naturally associated with New England history. And belonging to national history at a slightly later period we have from the New York Historical Society, the 6th volume of their Collections, containing Vol. III. of the Lee Papers, 1778-1782.

In this day of fac-simile illustrations by means of new and more economical processes, their application to catalogues of rare books is worthy of particular attention. The typography and general aspect of a book, especially an illustrated one, are parts of its character and meaning, which cannot be omitted from its description without leaving the impression of its nature incomplete.

In his republication of the catalogue of books printed

before the library of the late John Carter Brown, Mr. Bartlett has introduced this method of representation with great beauty and effect. His learning and diligence are thus appropriately accompanied by the best efforts of typographical skill, and make this volume a bibliographical gem. It was sent to us by Mr. Bartlett, in the name of Mrs. Brown.

Genealogy, it will be seen, occupies its place in the list in the contributions from Commodore George H. Preble, Col. A. H. Hoyt, Mr. E. B. Crane, of Worcester, and Mr. W. H. Whitmore, of Boston. Mr. Deane applies his process of destructive analysis in his paper on Judge Lowell and the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights.

President Salisbury, by his learned examination of recent alleged discoveries on the site of Ancient Troy, and their relation to the Homeric Poems, has apparently drawn the attention of Athonian savans to our institution, as will presently be seen; while his correspondence on that subject with Prof. Otto Keller, of Freiburg, in Breisgau, has led to the gift from that gentleman of his own archaeological publications.

The new curator of the Peabody Museum, Prof. F. W. Putnam, signalizes his appointment by a published account of his archaeological researches in Kentucky and Indiana; and our active member, Mr. Smucker, of Ohio, keeps at work on antiquarian and historical subjects in his own neighborhood.

It has always been deemed a very desirable object of effort to induce authors, especially those who have been successful writers, to aid the Society in making up as complete a collection as possible of their publications for the library.

Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody and Col. Thomas W. Higginson have kindly responded to an expression of this desire to the extent of their present ability.

Some of the miscellaneous contributions received have been considerable in point of numbers.

For example, there came from Mr. Saml. S. Green, of the Worcester City Library, and his brother, Mr. James Green, 85 books and 883 pamphlets; from Charles H. Doe & Co., proprietors of the Worcester Gazette, 6 books and 330 pamphlets; from our President, the two illustrated vols. on the trees and shrubs of Massachusetts, recently published by Mr. George B. Emerson, 239 pamphlets, and 64 numbers of *The Singer's Journal*, containing 3,200 popular songs; from Edward W. Lincoln, Esq., 180 nos. of Magazines; from Messrs. Grout & Putnam, book-sellers, 5 books, 5 engravings, and 147 pamphlets; from our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, 121 pamphlets, a file of the Christian Union, and various minor matters; from Miss Caroline C. Moore, 22 books and 70 pamphlets. Parcels were also received from Mr. C. B. Metcalf, of Worcester, Hon. S. S. Cox, member of Congress from New York, and our regular contributors, Dr. S. A. Green, Rev. Dr. Sweetser, Mr. Munsell, of Albany, and the Assistant Librarian.

In former days we were largely dependent on Col. T. W. Higginson, and Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, for the Reform publications of the day. Mr. May kindly continues to supply *The Woman's Journal* and *The Liberal Christian*, accompanied by other desirable gifts.

For larger collections of newspapers and magazines, we have been indebted to the Worcester County Mechanics Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the

Worcester Board of Trade, for the products of their reading rooms; and to the City National Bank, and the Worcester National Bank, for their files of newspapers. William Cross, Esq., of the last named institution, has been good enough to add a package of brokers' prices current.

It would be an interesting thing for posterity if we could levy upon business institutions and business men for the miscellaneous papers that collect in their offices; and it is good policy to let it be understood that they are always acceptable and duly appreciated.

One representative emblem of business energy and enterprise that we have received is of such a magnificent character that it deserves a place among the finer works of art. It is an illustrated, or rather an exemplified catalogue, of the variety of locks, from the burglar-proof guardian of a sub-treasury vault to the humblest padlock of a carpet-bag, manufactured at the establishment of Messrs. Mallory, Wheeler & Co., of New Haven. In this folio volume each article is represented exactly as it appears, in material, color, and finish, so that it is as if the object itself was before the eye. The catalogue is said to have been not less than eighty copies made. One is given to their larger customers, and the rest are given to Mr. Samuel Woodward, of the Worcester National Bank, & Co., of this city, to one of these copies, we have assigned the position of an historical relic of the Revolution.

We have also received of the special and peculiar publication of the day, the centennial celebration of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and the battle of Bunker's Hill. We were to have had for our collection the great bell which sounded the alarm

7

at Lexington, from Mr. T. W. Wellington, of this city, a native of that town; but he has, wisely perhaps, determined to return it to its original home, and has given this Society, in its stead, a dozen copies of Mr. Everett's address at Lexington in 1835, reprinted with a woodcut of this unruly member, whose call for resistance to arbitrary power is so memorable an event.

Rev. Dr. Ellis has presented copies of his account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, in the several forms of its publication.

Eight volumes of local histories, now so elaborately prepared and illustrated, have been added to our growing collection of that important class of publications; seven are from the donation of Judge Thomas, and one, of Acworth, N. H., filled with portraits of its prominent citizens, and commanding a high price as a rare book, is from Mr. Henry Hubbard, of Virginia.

Hon. Isaac Davis has added eleven volumes to his alcove of works relating to Spanish America; and his son, Mr. Joseph E. Davis, has given us a New Testament in the Esquimaux tongue, as the fruit of a recent excursion to Labrador.

Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, has committed to our care two ancient volumes that have been heir-looms in the family of his late wife. These are "*Tomus Primus of Opera Omnia Theologica Johannis Calvini*," printed at Geneva, in 1617, folio; which was brought over by Rev. George Phillips, first minister at Watertown, Mass., in 1630. The other, Leigh's *Critica Sacra*, London, 1650, was the property of Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of

Boston, and has his autograph on the fly leaf. The autograph of Mr. Phillips is also in the volume possessed by him.

It will appear, by the list, that we have received Public Documents from the Departments at Washington, and the States of Ohio and New Hampshire. The regular publications of Congress, 1st session, 43d Congress, consisting of 50 bound volumes, have just arrived from the Department of the Interior.

The learned Societies, at home and abroad, correspondents of this Institution, have transmitted their customary issues.

It has been mentioned in a former report that the new Société des Études Historiques, that takes the place of the old French Institut Historique, was paying great attention to American Antiquities, particularly those of Central and Southern America. There is work enough to be done in these regions to employ fully the learning and acuteness of the antiquaries of all nations.

The Société Littéraire le Parnasse, of Athens, doubtless inspired by the invasion of their own domain on the part of our President, has sent to us Greek enough to gratify the appetite of a very hungry Hellenist, in the form of essays and memoirs, literary and archæological, that they have from time to time printed. These are accompanied by a letter expressing a desire to enter into relations of intercourse and exchange with this Society.

The Baron Visconti, the society's distinguished representative in Rome, has transmitted by the hand of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop eight numbers of the Bulletin of the Municipal

Archæological Commission of that city, and a small but expressive bust of himself.

These selections, samples, perhaps they might be called, from the record of accessions, will enable members present at this meeting to understand the nature and sources of recent additions to the library. It will be seen that they are very similar to those of previous periods.

The result is an increase of 624 books, 3,204 pamphlets, 137 files of unbound newspapers, 1 bust, 18 maps, 83 prints, 3 photographs, and various articles for the cabinet.

The list of publications in the United States prior to the Revolution, to be attached to the second volume of the History of Printing, is finished and in type. It will cause that volume to consist of 689 pages, including the general index, to match the 423 pages of the first volume; a disproportion not to be desired, but perhaps not seriously objectionable. Great pains have been taken to bring the catalogue within as small a compass as practicable, having reference to the fact that it is necessarily somewhat descriptive in its character. Its preparation has required much more time and labor than was anticipated. It is at least unique, and will be found convenient and useful.

When the volume has been received from the binder it will be for the Society to determine in what manner the work shall be offered to the public.

It may also be thought desirable to take the proper official steps to tender, as an appropriate contribution on behalf of the Society, to the managers of the National Centennial Exhibition, a copy of this History of Printing, and list of publications, in what is now the United States, prior to the

great historical event whose occurrence it is proposed to commemorate—in response to their request for assistance in collecting materials for illustrating more effectively the past and present condition of the country in the various departments of growth and development.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

- HUBERT H. BANCROFT, Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—The first four volumes (author's copy,) of his work on "The Native Races of the Pacific States."
- Hon. JOHN G. PALFREY, Cambridge.—His History of New England, vol. 4, 8vo., Boston, 1875.
- Prof. OTTO KELLER.—His "Vicus Aurellus oder Oehringen zur Zeit der Römer;" and his "Die Entdeckung Ilions zu Hissarlik."
- Commodore GEORGE H. PREBLE, U. S. N.—The Diary of Dr. Ezra Green, with Historical Notes and a Biography, by Commodore Preble and Walter C. Green.
- Maj. L. A. H. LATOUB, Montreal, Canada.—His "Annuaire de Ville-Marie," 1874.
- Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.—His "Troy and Homer, Remarks on the Discoveries of Dr. Heinrich Schliemann in the Troad"; Geo. B. Emerson's new edition of Trees and Shrubs of Mass., 2 vols., 1875; two hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets; the Singers' Journal, 64 numbers, containing 3200 popular songs; five files of newspapers; and various circulars and handbills.
- Rev. EDWIN M. STONE, Providence, R. I.—His thirty-third Report as Minister at Large.
- ALBERT H. HOYT, Esq., Boston.—His Daniel Pierce of Newbury, Mass., and his descendants.
- JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York.—His fifth annual Report as President of the Board of Trustees of the Lenox Library.
- ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O.—His papers on Early Time Western History, and the Mound Builders' Work at Newark, Ohio; five pamphlets; and various newspapers containing Historical Notes.
- CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge.—His paper on Judge Lowell and the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights; and five numbers of the Society's Proceedings.

Col THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, Newport, R. I.—Three books, and four pamphlets of his own writings; with one bound volume; and forty-six miscellaneous pamphlets.

PLINY E. CHASE, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His paper on "Let there be Light."

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., Cambridge.—Five bound volumes, and forty-three pamphlets, of his own publications; and three other books.

Mrs. JOHN CARTER BROWN, Providence, R. I., through Hon. John R. Bartlett.—A catalogue of Books relating to North and South America, in the library of the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., with Notes by Mr. Bartlett, new edition, revised and enlarged, 1875.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., Boston.—Three copies of his History of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, 8vo. and 12mo., 1875.

WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., Boston.—His Taxation of Women in Massachusetts, revised edition, 1875.

F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., Salem.—His Archæological Researches in Kentucky and Indiana, 1874; and Habits of the Blind Crawfish and the reproduction of lost parts.

SAMUEL A. DRAKE, Esq., Boston.—His General Israel Putnam, the Commander at Bunker Hill.

Prof. O. C. MARSH, New Haven, Conn.—His statement of affairs at Red Cloud Agency, made to the President of the United States.

Mr. E. B. CRANE, Worcester.—His Rawson Family Memorial, 1875.

Miss ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY, Boston.—Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Junior, of Massachusetts Bay, 1744-1775, by his Son, Josiah Quincy, third edition, edited by E. S. Quincy, 1875.

WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Esq., Boston.—His Genealogy of the Payne and Gore Families.

JOHN W. HOYT, Esq., Madison, Wis.—His paper on a National University.

Mr. WILLIAM BLADES, London, Eng.—His paper on Some Early Type Specimen Books of England, Holland, France, Italy and Germany.

Hon. SAMUEL S. COX, Washington, D. C.—His Eulogy on Stephen A. Douglas; and thirty-two pamphlets.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.—Five books; one hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; the Christian Union in continuation; and various handbills, cards and newspapers.

JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y.—Thirty-two pamphlets.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M. D., Boston.—Two books; and forty-eight pamphlets.

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester.—Eleven volumes, relating to Spanish America, for the Davis alcove.

- ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—An account of the Eighth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland
- Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester.—One book; fifty-five pamphlets; one map, and a Fast-Day Proclamation.
- ELLIS AMES, Esq., Canton.—One pamphlet.
- Prof. E. E. SALISBURY, New Haven, Conn.—Leigh's *Critica Sacra*, fol. 1650; and Calvin's *Opera Omnia Theologica*, vol. 1, fol. 1617.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester.—A circular of early date.
- HON. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, Boston.—Seven volumes of Local Histories.
- J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston.—Tuckney's *Praelectiones Theologicae*, 4to., 1679, containing autographs of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, and Rev. John Whiting, of Lancaster.
- Baron P. E. VISCONTI, Rome, Italy.—A Bust of himself; and the "Bullettino Della Commissione Archeologica Municipale" of Rome, from November, 1872, to September, 1874, eight numbers.
- JOSEPH E. DAVIS, Esq., Worcester.—An Esquimaux Testament.
- Governor J. F. HARTRANFT, Harrisburg, Pa.—Pennsylvania Archives, second series, volume 1.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester.—City Document No. 29.
- S. E. BRACKETT, Esq., Braintree.—The Massachusetts Centinel for the year 1788.
- Messrs. GEORGE P. ROWELL & Co., New York.—Their American Newspaper Directory for 1875.
- Prof. J. D. SMITH, Worcester.—Two pamphlets and various circulars, relating to the Worcester Academy.
- E. F. DUREN, Esq., Secretary, Bangor, Me.—Minutes of the Maine Conference and Maine Missionary Society, 1875.
- Rev. ALONZO H. QUINT, D.D., Secretary, New Bedford.—Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts, 1875.
- Mrs. H. P. STURGIS, Boston.—Two pamphlets.
- Mr. H. D. WARNER, Worcester.—A photographic view of the interior of Antiquarian Hall.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster.—Leominster Town Reports for 1874-5.
- S. E. STAPLES, Esq., Worcester.—The U. S. Census blanks, used in 1875.
- GEORGE SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—One photograph.
- Messrs. LOCKWOOD, BROOKS & Co., Boston.—Reprint of a Song, composed by the British Soldiers, after the fight at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.
- CHARLES W. STEARNS, M.D., Newport, R. I.—A photograph of the Pynchon House, Springfield, built in 1660.

- J. BRADFORD HALL, Esq., Worcester.**—Specimens of telegrams received at the Franklin Telegraph Office, Worcester.
- D. S. DIERKE, Esq., Madison, Wis.**—One pamphlet.
- T. W. WELLINGTON, Esq., Worcester.**—Twelve copies of Everett's Address at Lexington April 19th-20th, 1835, reprinted at Worcester in 1875, containing a word cut of the tongue of the old Church bell which rang the alarm at Lexington.
- H. H. EDEN, Esq., Charlestown.**—Two Charlestown pamphlets.
- J. B. KNOX, Esq., Worcester.**—The Brewster Genealogy.
- Mr. A. E. PLIX, Worcester.**—Nine ancient engravings and maps.
- Mr. DANIEL WARD, Worcester.**—A powder-horn, used by his Great-Grandfather at Fort Edward in 1759.
- Mr. GEORGE HARTWELL, Rochdale.**—An adze and flint lock, dug from his farm, supposed to be Huguenot relics.
- CHARLES H. DOE & Co., Worcester.**—Six books; three hundred and thirty pamphlets; eight maps and prints, broadsides, handbills, cards, and odd numbers of newspapers.
- Mr. JOHN G. SMITH, Worcester.**—Four books; three pamphlets; and sixty-seven prints.
- C. B. METCALF, Esq., Worcester.**—Three books; sixty-nine pamphlets; and one map.
- Messrs. GROUT & PITMAN, Worcester.**—Five books; one hundred and forty-seven pamphlets, five engravings; and a collection of business placards.
- Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester.**—Three books; one pamphlet; and one lithograph.
- Mr. BENJ. J. DODGE, Worcester.**—The High School Thesaurus, 1861-66; and other newspapers in numbers.
- Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Leicester.**—Ten pamphlets; and the Liberal Christian and the Woman's Journal, in continuation.
- Messrs. MALLORY, WHEELER & Co., New Haven, Conn.**—Their elegant catalogue of Door Locks, Knobs, Padlocks, &c., illustrated and described.
- Mrs. REBECCA TAYLOR, Worcester.**—Two bound volumes of The Liberator for 1856-57.
- Miss CAROLINE E. MOWER, Worcester.**—Twenty-two books; seventy pamphlets, and odd newspapers.
- EDWARD W. LINCOLN, Esq., Worcester.**—One hundred and eighty numbers of American Magazines.
- Messrs. SAMUEL S. and JAMES GREEN, Worcester.**—Eighty-five books; eight hundred and eighty-three pamphlets; one map; one chart, and odd numbers of newspapers.

- Mr. ISAAC F. WOOD, New York.—Seven coin and medal Catalogues.
- WILLIAM CROSS, Worcester.—A package of Brokers' prices of business notes.
- SAMUEL FLAGG, M.D., Worcester. Three books and four pamphlets.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.—Forty-three pamphlets, and one manuscript sermon.
- Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE, Secretary.—The Soldiers' Memorial, Worcester.
- Mr. DAVID S. DODGE, West Sutton.—Tongs used over one hundred years ago, to pick up a coal in lighting a pipe.
- Mr. CHARLES C. DREW, Worcester.—"Chen Chung's Journal" from March 2 to March 29, 1870.
- Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co., Paris, Fr.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- Mr. E. STRIGER, New York.—His Literarische Berichte, as issued.
- Messrs. SHERMAN & HYDE, San Francisco, Cal.—Their Musical Review, as issued.
- Mr. HENRY HUBBARD, Perrowville, Va.—The History of Acworth, N. H.
- SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Esq., Augusta, Me.—The Maine Genealogist and Biographer for Sept. 1875.
- Mr. MARVEN M. JONES, Utica, N. Y.—One pamphlet.
- GEORGE E. CHAMBERS, Esq., Registrar, Philadelphia, Pa.—Philadelphia Board of Health Report for 1874.
- Mr. WILLIAM KNOWLES, Worcester.—Relics from the site of the Court Mills in Worcester.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Transactions, vol. XV., N. S., part II.; and Proceedings, No. 94.
- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, 1873-75.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris, Fr.—Four numbers of their Journal, 1874-75.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.—Their Journal, vol. 44; and Proceedings, vol. 19, numbers 1-6.
- THE WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings for 1875; and the Proceedings of the Cleveland Academy of Natural Science, 1845 to 1859.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Their Mémoires, vol. 35.
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Their Journal, vol. 14, number 5.
- THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. Their Proceedings, vol. 10.

THE PALEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.—Their Report for the year 1874-75.

THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings, part I., for 1875.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Their Bulletin, vol. 7, Nos. 1-5.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, vol. 4, N. S., Nos. 1 and 2.

VEREIN FÜR KUNST UND ALTERTHUM IN ULM UND OBERSCHWABEN.—Their Transactions for 1875.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections for 1873.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions for the year 1875, part 1.

THE PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—The eighth annual Report of the Provost.

THE MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their Proceedings at the various Communications of 1874-75.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Their Communications, vol. 12, No. 1.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY, Chicago, Ill.—Their "Printing Press," as issued.

THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO.—Their thirty-ninth annual Report

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE.—Their thirty-seventh annual Report.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Their Report of 1875; forty pamphlets, and twenty files of newspapers.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Thirty numbers of Magazines, and twenty-two files of newspapers.

LA SOCIÉTÉ LITTÉRAIRE LE PARNASSE, Athens, Greece.—Six books, and twenty-seven pamphlets, most of which are their own publications.

THE WORCESTER BOARD OF TRADE.—Eighteen files of newspapers; and their By-Laws.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The twenty-third annual Report; and Bulletin, as issued.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their list of Accessions from January to July, 1875.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY OF NEW YORK.—The twenty-sixth annual Report.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The third annual Report.

THE NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The twenty-third annual Report.

THE OHIO STATE LIBRARY.—Fourteen volumes of Ohio State Documents.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.—The fifty-fourth annual Report.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF WORCESTER.—Sixty-five files of newspapers; and two hundred and forty-five pamphlets

THE AMERICAN TRAVELER'S INSURANCE CO.—Their Record, as issued.

AMHERST COLLEGE.—The triennial Catalogue for 1875.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—The annual Catalogue for 1874-75.

THE MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY.—The thirty-eighth annual Catalogue.

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—The Documents of the first session of the forty-third Congress, fifty volumes.

THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—The Circulars of Information for 1875, Nos 1 and 2.

THE UNITED STATES CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.—Two books; and two pamphlets.

THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Circular No. 8 from the Surgeon General's Office.

THE TOWN OF LONDONDERRY, N. H.—A part of the town stock of bullets cast during the Revolution, 1775-83.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.—The Laws passed June session, 1875.

THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post; and Commercial Bulletin, in continuation.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK. Worcester.—Four books; one pamphlet; and a parcel of Boston, New York and Worcester newspapers for 1875.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.—Their Journal, as issued.

THE WESTERN PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.—Their Magazine, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.—Their Journal, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY.—Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.—Their papers, as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE DAILY PRESS.—His paper, as issued.

EDITOR OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM.—His paper, as is-

EDITOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE.—His paper, as issued.

EDITORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL.—Their paper, as is-

EDITOR OF THE AYER PUBLIC SPIRIT.—His paper, as issued.

EDITORS OF THE NATION.—Their paper, as issued.

RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND.

BY CHARLES DEANE, LL.D.

MANY of the members of the Antiquarian Society will remember that the serial of its Proceedings for April, 1867, contained two fragments of the "Records of the Council for New England," which had been copied from transcripts in Her Majesty's Public Record office, in London, by order of Mr. Haven, then in Europe, transmitted by him to the Society, and communicated at that meeting. The earlier part of these Records begins with "Saturday the last of May 1622," and ends with a fragmentary entry, on "Saturday 21st Junii, 1623"—one or more leaves of the document in the Record Office having been unfortunately lost; how much no one could tell.

It gives me great pleasure now to say, that an additional portion, consisting of three pages of our printed proceedings, of this earlier record, has been happily supplied, from another manuscript, belonging to Mrs. Carew, widow of the late Lt.-Col. Carew, of Crowcombe Court, Co. Somerset, England; attention having been called to it by the following notice, on page 370 of the Report for 1874 of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: "Orders at several meetings of the Council for New England. Begins Saturday,

last of May, 1622, * * * The last day was Sunday, 29 June, 1623, Greenwich, being the drawing of the lots for the shares. The King drew for Buckingham, the names of the patentees and their shares are given."* This memorandum clearly showed that the manuscript at Crowcombe Court contained entries which would supply some of the missing portions of that from which our transcript was made—the latter, at page 96 of our printed copy, terminating abruptly by reason of this loss. Application was speedily made to Mr. Sainsbury, of the Public Record Office, who had copied the two parts of these Records for this Society, requesting him, if practicable, to procure access to this Carew MS., and to compare it with the earlier part as printed by the Society, in order that we might be supplied with any missing portion. Mr. Sainsbury was happily successful in obtaining a loan of the manuscript for this purpose, and thus the additional matter has been furnished. The newly printed leaves have been paged so as to follow page 96 of the serial of Proceedings for April, 1867, in which the sheet should be inserted.

In answer to some enquiries concerning this Carew MS., Mr. Sainsbury expresses the opinion that it is the original Record of the Council for New England; at least, that the handwriting is clearly of that period, 1621–1623; though whether more than one copy was made at the same time, he is of course unable to say. It is an entry-book of the doings of the Council, fairly written out. The general appearance of the MS., the uniformity of the hand-writing throughout,

* My attention was first called to this entry soon after the receipt of the volume last year at the Boston Athenæum, by Mr. Charles Wesley Tuttle, A.M., who was then searching for materials for a life of Capt. John Mason, the patentee of New Hampshire.

might suggest that it was a contemporaneous transcript, and originally belonged to one of the patentees.*

On the first leaf of the book, after the vellum cover, is written, in a contemporaneous hand, these words, "The briefe Orders att severall meetings of the Councell of New England, in America." Also, "The booke of Orders Begunne in the yeare of our Lord God, 1622." Besides this leaf there are six blank leaves, and then the first entry (that is on the 8th leaf in the book), beginning "Saturdaye, the last of May, 1622," &c. This leaf is paged 1, 2, and the contemporaneous pagination proceeds to 65, the last leaf paged. Then follow exactly one hundred blank leaves.†

Mr. Sainsbury has made an exact verbal collation of the Carew MS. with this Society's printed copy, and has indicated every variation, except in spelling. I am happy to add that but few errors of importance have been detected in our copy, which, it will be understood, was made from a later transcript, and not the original MS. These *errata*, however slight, have been printed with the additional pages.

These missing leaves though few, are important, as they happily furnish the exact date of the meeting of the Council at which the division of all the coasts and lands of New England was made among the patentees, in presence of the King; which was "Sunday, 29^o Junii, 1623, at Greenwich."

*The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, through whom these sheets were transmitted to me, examined the Carew MS. at the Record Office, in London, soon after it had been received there; and he fully coincides with the views of Mr. Sainsbury respecting it.

†"The MS., however," continues Mr. Sainsbury, "consists of 35 leaves, and on all of them there is writing on both sides, except the last leaf, the reverse side of which is blank. But to account for there being only 65 numbered pages, and really 69 pages of MS. I find that in paging the book the writer has in two instances, turned over two leaves together, no doubt carelessly, so that the pages between 9 and 10, and between 13 and 14, have not any numbers on them."

The "plot" of this division was first published in Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," London, 1624; and on page 31 of his book he says: "The last year, he [Sir F. Gorges] sent his son, Captain *Robert Gorge*, with a colony to be planted in Massachusetts bounds, and as I hear, out of a generous desire by his example, to encourage others for the advancement of so brave an enterprise, he is resolved shortly to go himself, in person, and to carry with him a great number well fitted for such a purpose; and many noblemen in *England*, (whose names and proportions as they were marshalled by lot, may appear upon the map), having interested themselves in that bounds, are to send several colonies who may quickly make this to exceed all other Plantations."* Alexander's map was inserted in Vol. IV., page 1873, of Purchas's *Pilgrims*, published in the following year. It must have been intended, I suppose, that this division of the patent should set aside any previous grants to individual members of the Council, whatever effect it might have upon others.

The names of those who drew lots in this division of 1623, if placed in the order of the numbering of their lots, will be found to correspond with the record made on Alexander's map,† beginning with Dr. Barnabe Goebe as No. 1, and ending with the Earl of Arundel—with one exception. Instead of the "E. of Pembroke," whose name is on the map, we have in the record the name of "The Earl of Middlesex." Mr. Sainsbury, who was written to in reference to

* See the Prince Society's edition of this book, edited by the Rev. E. F. Slafter, A.M., p. 196.

† A heliotype *fac simile* of Alexander's Map accompanies this paper; the negative from which the copies were struck, having been kindly furnished by the Council of the Prince Society.

this, replies: "The name 'Earl of Middlesex' is correctly copied from the Carew MS., though you say you find no mention of his being connected with the company. The Earl of Middlesex was Lord High Treasurer, and may have drawn for the Earl of Pembroke as the King and others did for the other shareholders; in which case the person or clerk writing this Carew MS. must have omitted to write '*The Earl of Pembroke, drawn by the Earl of Middlesex.*' This is the only solution I can give to your query."

The Records of the Council for New England, from the 29th of June, 1623, to the 4th of November, 1631, (where the second part of our records begins,) if any such existed, are still a desideratum. The Carew volume, we are told, has many blank leaves at the end. If it were certain that this volume was the *original* Record Book of the Council, and not simply a contemporaneous transcript of the portion copied, it might be asked with some significance why, if meetings were continued to be held and recorded as before, was this book laid aside?

At the last meeting here recorded, as the record shows, the division of all the lands in the patent was made among the patentees. The reason given for this division, it will be seen, was "that some of the adventurers excuse their non-payment in of their adventures, because they know not their shares for which they are to pay, which much prejudiceth the proceedings." So many adventurers held back that those who were willing to pay did not choose to bear their own burdens and others' too. Quite likely also the adventurers wanted what seemed like an equivalent for their money, and a deed of land to themselves individually was

something far more tangible than a certificate as a shareholder in a great corporation whose ability to create a revenue of profits might well be doubted. The amount agreed upon for each adventurer or patentee to pay in was £110, and these sums came in very slowly. The record also states that the number of adventurers at this time was over twenty and less than forty, the number required by the charter. Twenty lots were to be drawn of two shares each, and provision made that each person drawing two shares should part with one share to some one member who might not have drawn, or some one who shall thereafter become an adventurer, to the end that the full "number of forty may be complete." The record of the drawing of the lots shows that there were eleven members present when it took place, and that ten drew for themselves. Ten other lots were drawn for absent members.

When, in 1635, the proprietors were contemplating a surrender of the patent, they refer to this division, and say they "hitherto have never been confirmed in the lands so allotted," and they then propose another division on a different basis, and ask that each may hold his share directly from the King. Whether by a want of confirmation of the division of 1623 was meant that no deeds or grants had been duly executed by the Council in conformity thereto, or whether they were disappointed in their expectations that the King would grant to each a charter of incorporation as was contemplated in the allotment of 1635, is not clear. Those who had paid in their money might certainly expect to receive a title to their shares. I have never seen copies of such grants, though Hutchinson (Vol. 1, p. 71), says that the Earl of Warwick had a patent for Massachusetts Bay about this time, with

bounds unknown; and Dr. Palfrey (Vol. 1, p. 288), thinks that the Earl and other patentees subsequently surrendered their individual claims to the Massachusetts Company. The Earl of Sheffield, six months after the division, made a provisional grant of his share or a part of it, at Cape Anne, to Cushman and Winslow.

It is not certain what new scheme or policy the Company intended to adopt by this division of 1623. In the passage already cited from Sir William Alexander, he says that the proprietors of these divisions "are to send several colonies, who may quickly make this to exceed all other plantations," and that Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself is resolved shortly to follow thither his son Robert, who went over this year. In an entry made a few days before the division was made, we read: "It is propounded whether the Islands that lie within every patentee's share shall pass (upon the division) as part of the dividend, or be laid out for the public use." (It was subsequently agreed that the Islands should pass to "such patentee within whose dividend they happen to fall.") "Further, that when the ship is ready every patentee send five men to settle upon the State County, and if any neglect sending his number another may have liberty to send them." The Council, therefore, could hardly have intended to procure royal patents or charters to pass to each proprietor, with a view of resigning their grand patent. While each individual proprietor may have been expected to provide settlers for his own territory, and subordinate regulations for their government, the Council must have intended to exercise a general government over the whole, somewhat, probably, after the plan indicated in the Council's "Briefe Relation," issued in 1622, though in that grand scheme they

intended to retain one-third of the lands for "public uses, to be belonging to the State." We have seen the intimation that Sir F. Gorges himself, after the division, had resolved to follow his son Robert thither—in no less capacity, we may well suppose, than that of General Governor.

Whatever change in the policy or action of the Council may have been contemplated by this division, nothing of a practical nature appears to have grown out of it. Without doubt the larger number of original patentees failed to respond to the call for money. Other projects for this purpose had been laid aside.

The plan of raising one hundred thousand pounds from sundry merchants, to effect the object of colonization and trade, had been abandoned. A debt had been contracted in building a ship and pinnace, at Whitby, "for the advancement of the affairs of New England," and the ship had been mortgaged to secure that debt. The want of money seriously embarrassed the movements of the Company at every step. The opposition in the House of Commons to the Great Patent of New England, as a grievous monopoly, had been violent from the first, and it continued unabated up to this time; and the clause in it designed to check the freedom of fishing on the coast was, after a struggle, practically abandoned. Robert Gorges returned from New England by no means pleased with the country, while those who had promised him assistance in his own private schemes of colonization, deserted him. Many patentees "quitted their interest." Ferdinando Gorges, himself, in his "Briefe Narration," gives a gloomy picture of the condition of the Company at about the period of which we are now speaking; and in the Council's reasons for resigning the great patent

into his Majesty's hands, in 1635, written most likely by Sir F. Gorges himself, they refer to the troubles which environed them from the first, and say :

"So that the affections of the multitude were thereby disheartened ; and so much the more by how much it pleased God about that time to bereave us of the most noble and principle props thereof, as namely, the Duke of Lenox and the Marquiss of Hamilton, and soon after of other strong stays to this weak building. Then followed the claim of the French ambassador (that then was) taking advantage at the divisions made of the sea coasts between ourselves, to whom we made a just and satisfactory answer (as it seemed), for that he rested contented therewith, and since that we heard no more thereof. Nevertheless these crosses did draw upon us such a disheartened weakness as there only remained a carcass in a manner breathless, till the end of the last parliament, in anno [1627-8], when there were certain that desired a patent of some land in the Massachusetts Bay to plant upon, who presenting the names of honest and religious men easily attained their first desires," &c.

The division of 1623, as I have said, was never consummated, and for a long time subsequently little seems to have been done towards the settlement of the country. From this time up to 1628, no new patents appear to have been granted. The only colony on the coast worthy the name was that of Plymouth, and their existence kept alive the wavering interest in the colonization of New England. In the year last named they procured from the Council a license for lands on the Kennebec, confirmed to them later in their

Errata — Page 57, line 20, for "the Dorchester Company," read *Roswell and his associates*.

more or less information of their affairs. All wanting in

1630 of the "estate of New England" at this period, he says that the New Plymouth people were "doing well," but that "divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to go there, to be several Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing."

At last it [the country] was ingrossed by twenty patentees, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares, but money not coming in as they expected, procured a proclamation none should go thither without licenses to fish; but for every thirty tons of shipping to pay five pounds; besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut down wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the country is nothing but wood, and none to make use of it; with many such other pretences for to make the country plant itself, by its own wealth. Hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would go; so that the patentees, who never one of them had been there, seeing those projects would not prevail, have since not hindered any to go that would, that within these few last years more have gone thither than ever.*

The proclamation to which Smith refers was issued in November, 1622, before the division of the territory had been made.

From this review of the affairs of the Council for New England, it may be seriously questioned if any formal meetings of the Council were held for some time after the division of 1623 took place. The Company, so to speak, was practically dead, as had been its predecessor, as an organization, after the breaking up of the Popham settlement. If such be the case we may well regard the conclusion of the first part of our records, now happily supplied, as all that we can hope to find for some considerable period;

* True Travels, London, 1630, p. 47.

perhaps up to the time when a new interest was inspired in New England colonization by the efforts of the Dorchester Company to plant a colony on our coast.

The second part of the records begins with a meeting "at Warwick House, the 4th of November, 1631." This portion appears fragmentary, that is to say, not continuous for the period which it covers; but it conducts us to the end of the Company's existence. During the three or four years preceding the date just given, the Council must have had occasion for meetings, since a number of grants were made by them, and some changes had taken place in its organization. The Earl of Warwick had been during this time chosen President. Something more than loose minutes would seem to have been required for such proceedings.

If we may suppose this Carew MS. to be either the original Records of the Council for New England, or a full contemporaneous transcript of the same, for the period which it covers, then our printed copy of this early portion, with the addition now made to it, must be regarded as continuous for the same period.

Yet we should expect that a company holding in its control the whole territory of New England, responsible for its settlement and government, involving transactions of magnitude and importance, would have kept a full and careful record of all its proceedings. If we have here the beginning of the record, why do we find in it no formal minutes of the organization of the Council, or other transactions, such as the issuing of at least two grants of land, bearing date before that at which our earliest portion begins? Indeed, at this first meeting as recorded, we read, "the patents already granted to be confirmed." Again, there is

extant a copy of a grant to Mason and Gorges, bearing date August 10, 1622, not noticed in our records, which cover this date. It may also be added, that, at the first meeting recorded, the names of Captain Samuel Argall and Dr. Barnabe Goche appear as members of the Council, yet these persons were not original patentees, and we have no record of their election. Can these proceedings have been entrusted to loose minutes not recorded? The great patent of New England incorporating this Council, bears date November 3, 1620. It encountered vehement opposition from the first as an odious monopoly; for this or for other reasons the Council were desirous of amending or renewing it, and perhaps there was some delay in the organization. Yet we find one patent to John Pierce, for the Plymouth people, as early as June 1, 1621, one year before our records begin—probably the first patent issued by the Council. This purports to be signed by the “President and Council.” It bears six signatures, beginning with that of the Duke of Lenox, who was probably the first President.

The great Council by its charter of incorporation, was located in the town of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, but all its meetings of which we have any record were probably held in London or its neighborhood. The attendance on these meetings throughout was most meagre. Sometimes only two members and rarely more than half a dozen at any time were present. If all these meetings were legal, the *quorum* authorized to transact business must have been very small. This shows that the active interest in the company's doings must have been confined to a small number of its members from an early period in its history.

Besides the company's records of its meetings we should expect it to keep a code of by laws or ordinances, a record copy of all grants of territory made, and all commissions and licenses issued, of which there were many; and of all its correspondence. It would have maps and plans of the coast of New England, and extensive files of other papers, besides the account books of its treasurer. That some books were kept by the company, besides the mere minutes of proceedings is evident. An entry in the records of the 12th July, 1622, reads, "To consider of a place for our meetings, and staying for the clerk, and for *a chest for our books.*" February 25th, 1622-3, "It is ordered that the clerk call upon Mr. Collingwood for the copy of Sir John Bruce's patent." And this memorandum of the clerk follows, "Mr. Collingwood answered me that he hath delivered all the books to Sir F. Gorges and to Mr. Thompson." Collingwood was formerly clerk of the Council, and now was in the service of the Virginia Company, in the same capacity. June 21, 1632, "The books of account belonging unto the Treasurer for the New England Company, and a plot of the country, was now delivered to him," (the new Secretary.) June 28, 1632, an ordinance "entered in folio 40 of the Council Book of Ordinances was now read," &c.

But a suspicion sometimes crosses the mind in studying the transactions of this company, that the business was often loosely done. At a meeting of the Council for the 26 June, 1632, Mr. Humfrey, one of the Massachusetts Company, being present, some of the members expressed a wish to see the Massachusetts patent, granted by the President and Council, alleging that it "preindicted former grants." Mr. Humfrey answered that the patent was now in New

England. The question naturally occurs, why did not the Council refer to their own book of patents for the desired information, if a copy of the patent had been there preserved; and I may add, if they had wished to extend their enquiry further, and get access to the Royal Charter of the Massachusetts Company, their clerk or counsel could readily have found a copy of it in the public archives.

The record for June 29, 1632, reads, "It was agreed that the E. of Warwick should be entreated to direct a course for finding out what patents have been granted for New England." This meeting was held at "Warwick House, in Holborne." The Earl was now President, but was not present at this meeting. Would not the company's books tell how many patents had been granted for New England, or was there a suspicion that the Earl had been granting patents surreptitiously? There was a serious misunderstanding about this time between the Earl of Warwick and some of his associates. He is requested by an order at this same meeting to deliver up the Council's great seal, now in his possession.

The original *archives* of this company, so to speak, besides these minutes of its meetings happily preserved to us, are lost to the public eye. A large number of the patents issued, either the originals or copies from originals, are preserved in New England. Many of these and of others are found in the public offices in England, in transcripts made at different periods; some of them perhaps copied originally from the company's books. Mr. Sainsbury's Colonial Calendar has revealed many of these as existing in the Public Record Office, besides brief abstracts and memoranda, and other single papers which may have

originally belonged to the company's files. If litigations do not always prove profitable to the parties engaged in them, they sometimes happily subserve the purposes of history in multiplying copies of papers, and thereby preserving documents of great value. Much may be expected from this new Record Commission, whose search warrants or writs of assistance—less offensive than those which our Otis condemned in Colonial times—run into private cabinets all over the kingdom, and bring to light what may have been slumbering for ages.



THE CRIMINAL LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SUBSTANCE OF THE REMARKS OF JUDGE ALDRICH.

A LATE learned writer, in a historical sketch of English criminal law, declares, that "the general nature of the commonest and most important crimes is substantially the same under all circumstances, and at every period of history. Disobedience to government, violence, theft and fraud, in different forms and with different aggravations, make up almost all crimes which can be committed. The difference between the criminal law at different times consists principally of the manner in which certain general rules and conceptions relating to them are adapted to the circumstances of successive generations." To this may be added, that the criminal law of a State is intimately connected with the manners and morals of the people, and serves pretty accurately to measure their progress in refinement and general civilization. It becomes, therefore, an interesting subject of study for the student of general history, and to all who would explore the foundations and trace the growth of a free commonwealth.

Anything like a full treatment of the subject of criminal law, during our Constitutional period, would require an investigation into the condition of that law during the antecedent colonial period. For otherwise it will be seen to be

... determine the exact state of the criminal law at the time of the adoption of our State Constitution, in 1780. By the 9th section of the 6th chapter of said constitution it is provided that "All laws which have heretofore been enacted, and used and approved in the Province, Colony, or State, of Massachusetts Bay, and usually practiced in the courts of law, shall still survive and be in full force, until altered or repealed by the legislature: such parts only as are repugnant to the rights and liberties of the people shall be void."

... and reports of the documents of ... do not commence until nearly the adoption of the Constitution, the means of ascertaining what laws existed as in the course of law."

At a later period, in consequence of this uncertainty as to the state of the law, a resolve was passed by the legislature, in 1812, appointing "Hon. Nathan Isaac, William Prescott, and Joseph Henry, Esqrs. a committee to examine the laws then in force, and to report to the next session of the General Court of the said Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay." And it was further resolved that the said Committee "shall report to the next session of the said Court the laws which they shall have collected, and shall also report to the legislature such laws as are not repealed, and which in their opinion require to be repealed."

The Report contemplated by the last part of this resolve, is not to be found among the very extensive collection of legislative documents in the library of the Society. And if found, it probably would not show what Colonial and Provincial laws had been repealed before or at the commencement of our constitutional history.

The changes made in the criminal law during the continuance of the Provisional government which followed the overthrow of the Royal authority and preceded the establishment of constitutional government, were not important as affecting the general character of the law.

I begin, therefore, with the criminal statute law, as it appears in the early acts of the Legislature under the Constitution.

The Constitution went into operation the last Wednesday in October, 1780 ; and the first Legislature assembled under it October 25th, 1780.

The first act of this first Legislature relating to criminal law was passed February 14th, 1781, and was "An act in addition to an act entitled an act for taking up and restraining persons dangerous to this State."

Another act, passed March 5th, 1781, was "An act in addition to an act entitled an act for preventing crimes against the public safety below the degree of treason and misprision of treason." The original act, to which this was in addition, was passed by the Provisional Government, February 4th, 1777. These two acts illustrate the character of the legislation of that transitional period ; being temporary, rather than permanent, and such as the peculiar necessities of the times demanded. Crimes were then, as now, divided into two general classes, felonies and misdemeanors. The definitions of all these crimes, except that of treason, were derived from the common law, and the mode of trial and the rules of evidence were governed by the same law.

As the law stood at the adoption of the Constitution, there were seven capital offences, viz : murder, burglary, arson, robbery, rape, sodomy and treason. This list, though

large, when compared with the present state of our criminal code, was in comparison with that of England, very small; for at that time there were not less than one hundred and sixty offences punishable capitally by the laws of England. All of the above named seven offences, except sodomy (the punishment for which had been changed to imprisonment for a term of years) remained on the list of capital crimes, down to the enactment of our Revised Statutes, in 1836, and for some years later. Murder only was left on the list of capital crimes at the time of the enactment of our General Statutes, in 1860. The punishment for the other five had been changed from death to imprisonment for life; and by still later statutes this punishment has been further mitigated, so that now the offender may, at the discretion of the Court, be imprisoned for life or only for a term of years. There is a provision of statute, making a sheriff or other police officer, who should voluntarily allow a prisoner, charged with a capital offence, to escape, subject to the same penalty his prisoner would have been liable to suffer. With this exception murder is the only capital crime now known to our laws.

The criminal code of England, so far as relates to capital offences, has undergone a much more remarkable change; for of the one hundred and sixty offences which at the beginning of the century were punishable with death, all, or nearly all, except murder and treason, have been made punishable at the discretion of the Court, only with penal servitude or imprisonment for a term of years.

Many of these changes in England occurred later than the corresponding ones in this State; for it was not before the 24th and 25th of Queen Victoria's reign that the great

reforms in the English criminal code were consummated. But they were undoubtedly, there as here, brought about by the same general causes which have done so much in modern times to sweep from the statute books of all civilized nations, and even from the laws of war, the barbarous relics of a former age. A vivid impression of the immense progress made in this department of human conduct may be gained by comparing the existing laws of the Commonwealth with a Colonial law of 1678, which subjected a child, above sixteen years of age, and of sufficient understanding, to the penalty of death, for cursing or striking his father or mother. This extraordinary enactment was not peculiar to the sternness of the Puritan legislator. It was the natural product of the spirit of an age which has happily passed away.

In 1568, under the stern code which was established under the auspices of Calvin, at Geneva, a child was beheaded for striking its father and mother, and another child sixteen years old for *attempting* to strike its mother, was sentenced to death, but, on account of its youth, the sentence was commuted, and having been publicly whipped, with a cord about its neck, it was banished from the city.

But now returning to our own statutes, we shall find that the penalties, for offences less than capital, at the time the constitution was adopted and for many years thereafter, were fines, imprisonment, whipping, standing in the pillory, sitting upon the gallows with one end of a rope round the neck and the other end thrown up over the gallows, cropping the ears and branding. But early in the present century most of these modes of punishment were becoming repugnant to the public taste and judgment, and as early as 1813

an act was passed providing that for any crime or misdemeanor now punishable by whipping, standing in the pillory, sitting on the gallows, or imprisonment in the common jail, the Supreme Judicial Court might at its discretion, in lieu of the punishments aforesaid, sentence offenders to solitary imprisonment not exceeding three months and hard labor not exceeding five years. Punishment by whipping was finally abolished by an act passed Feb. 26, 1826, and all the other modes of punishment above named, except fine and imprisonment, disappeared from the administration of criminal justice in this Commonwealth.

Benefit of clergy was abolished in this State by an act passed March 11, 1785; thus anticipating similar legislation in England by nearly a half-century. But there never was the same excuse for the existence of this absurd provision of criminal law in this country as there was in England. For there, although it was originally established for the benefit of a particular class of persons, it came ultimately to be employed in mitigation of the enormous and undue severity of the criminal code. Blackstone, writing a few years before the passage of the repealing act above cited, speaks of the origin of this anomaly in the law, and of the abuses it had fallen into, and of the reforms effected by parliament and the courts in relation to this plea of clergy, and then proceeds in an exultant strain to say "The wisdom of the English Legislature having, in the course of a long and laborious process, extracted by a noble alchemy rich medicines out of poisonous ingredients, and converted, by gradual mutations, what was at first an unreasonable exemption of particular popish ecclesiastics, into a merciful mitigation of the general law, with respect to capital punishment."

Our own legislators adopted the more sensible and direct method of relief, by amending the "general law" itself, and thus dispensed with the necessity of resorting to that indirect "merciful mitigation" which is the boast of the great English Commentator.

An act regulating the process of outlawry was passed October 2, 1782, and remained substantially in force till 1831, when the process was wholly abolished in this Commonwealth. The consequences attending outlawry under the act of 1782 were serious to the party thus placed beyond the practical protection of law; but they were much less so than those under the English statute upon the same subject. Both statutes were based upon indefensible principles — principles inconsistent with any proper administration of justice.

The early statutes of the Commonwealth concerning larceny contained some peculiar provisions which have long since disappeared from our criminal legislation. An act passed March 15, 1785, "for punishing and preventing larcenies," provided, as penalties, fine and whipping and forfeiture of treble the value of the property stolen, and in default of paying or making restitution, the offender was required to make up the amount in service; and might be sold for that purpose to service by the person whose property he had stolen.

There was another singular provision which showed how exacting the law formerly was, in requiring payment or other pecuniary satisfaction, when once a debt or pecuniary liability had been incurred. It was to the effect, that if a party committed for non payment of fine and costs was too poor, at the time he was entitled by the statutes to be relieved

from imprisonment, to pay, he was required to give his note to the county for the amount of the fine and costs.

Among the early penal statutes of the State may be found acts for suppressing and preventing "Rogues, vagabonds," &c.; from which it is evident society has long been infested with these idle and thriftless vagrants. The tramp of to-day is doubtless the lineal descendant of the vagabond of a hundred years ago.

There is a very singular provision in an act of this class, passed March 26, 1788; it reads as follows:

"No African or negro other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States, shall tarry within this Commonwealth more than two months, and after complaint before some Justice of Peace, and order to depart, if he remains ten days, he may be committed to any House of Correction to hard labor till the Sessions of the Peace shall next be holden, and if convicted before said court, may be whipped, not exceeding ten strokes, and ordered to depart out of the Commonwealth within ten days, and if he or she shall not depart, the same process shall be had and punishment inflicted, and so *toties quoties*."

The exception in this act in favor of the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, was doubtless made in deference to certain stipulations, contained in a treaty the Federal government had then recently entered into with that potentate. The exception in favor of a negro, who was a *citizen* of some one of the United States, shows that the legislators of that day had not adopted the doctrine of the Dred Scott case, that a negro of the African race, though born of parents free at the time of his birth, could not become a

citizen of a State, if his ancestors had been imported into this country and held as slaves.

Frequent acts of legislation will be found throughout the century, intended to promote purity of life, to secure a proper observance of the Lord's day, and against blasphemy. To all these statutes severe penalties were annexed.

An act to prevent cursing and swearing, with an attempt nicely to adjust the penalties to the degrees of wickedness manifested by offenders, was passed in 1798. It provided a fine of two dollars for the first offence, four for the second, and for each subsequent offence treble the first penalty. If more than one oath was uttered, there was to be an extra fine for each one, of not more than fifty cents nor less than twenty-five cents. This minuteness in determining penalties by legislative enactments, is much more characteristic of our early legislation than of the later. Indeed, recent legislation has gone to the other extreme, and thrown quite too much responsibility upon the courts in matter of sentences.

Arson for instance, is by the present statute punishable with imprisonment for life or for one or more years; and the same, or an almost equally wide range of punishment, is provided for some other felonies. These penalties have been fixed at different times, and often under the influence of peculiar causes affecting legislation, so that there is great want of uniformity and consistency in our Criminal Statutes. Early and repeated acts against duelling, with severe penalties were passed. One act passed in 1784, not only denounced the heaviest penalties against the survivor, but provided, that the body of the person killed in a duel, should be buried without a coffin, near the usual place of execution, with a stake driven through it, or be delivered to a surgeon for

dissection—being substantially the same disposition as was made of the body of the suicide. Laws against duelling, in this, and other States and countries, have rarely been literally enforced; and for this reason it has often been said of these statutes, as of others not uniformly enforced, that they had better be at once repealed. But the opinion thus expressed is not well supported by reason: for the criminal laws of a State are to be regarded not only as effects, but as causes — not only as exponents of existing public sentiment, but as important factors in the production of a higher and more advanced standard of public morality and virtue. The laws against duelling, though rarely executed, have undoubtedly contributed largely to the creation of a public sentiment before which that barbarous practice has almost wholly disappeared. It is the remark of a philosophical writer on the criminal laws of England, that treason was rendered more odious in the public estimation, from the extreme severity of the punishment denounced against the crime. The law is a schoolmaster in more senses than one, and while as a general proposition it is true, that law, in a free, representative government like ours, is the outgrowth and expression of public sentiment, yet, in matters relating to conduct, it is not infrequently quite in advance of the practice of legislators and their constituents; a careful study of the laws of this Commonwealth for the century just closed, and a like study of the history of the manners and customs of the people for the same period of time, will make this truth manifest, and will convince the student that it would be disastrous to the public welfare to bring down legislation to the dead level of conduct. Laws are the product of reason and calm

reflection upon the great principles of right and wrong; conduct is more frequently directed by passion and in utter disregard of the rights of others. Whilst therefore, it is true, that improvements in the law mark the general progress of a people in civilisation and refinement, the law does not at any given time furnish a sure criterion by which to determine their practical morality and virtue.

The review of our criminal legislation, of which the foregoing is a scanty and very imperfect sketch, discloses the fact that during the first half of the century, there were numerous and radical changes in the *modes* of punishment, but very little if any mitigation in their severity; and that for the latter part of the century very great mitigations in the penalties prescribed by the statutes have been effected, but that the number of punishable offences or acts has been largely increased. Offences against property have been greatly multiplied during the century, and this branch of legislation would furnish no very inadequate standard by which to judge of the material growth and prosperity of the State. "A chronological detail," says Amos, in that curious work of his, entitled "Ruins of Time," "of the statutes (of England) and changes of common law, relating to offences against property, would furnish a history of material improvement in the arts, and in the conveniences and refinements of domestic life."

Criminal procedure has, under our improved legislation, been stripped of most of its useless niceties and technicalities; trials have been simplified, and are now conducted on more rational principles than formerly. Our Legislature, following in that respect the example of the British Parliament, has rarely ventured upon any legislative definition of

crimes. The most noticeable instance of that kind of legislation in this State occurred in 1852, when the Legislature gave a new and quite original definition of felony, by enacting that "Any crime punishable by death or imprisonment in the State prison is a felony, and no other crime shall be so considered." This definition has perhaps the merit of simplicity, when compared with the more complicated common law definition of felony, but it cannot be regarded as belonging to any philosophical classification of crimes any more than that other defining act, found in our statute book, which declares certain places used for a particular traffic to be common nuisances, without regard to the manner in which, or the extent to which, the business is prosecuted.

The Legislature has, within the last few years, made important changes in the rules respecting the competency or admissibility of evidence in criminal cases, by which persons charged with crimes are allowed to testify in their own behalf, and husband and wife may testify for or against each other. Other needed reforms in criminal proceedings in our courts have been prevented on account of certain constitutional provisions, which have hitherto been regarded as prohibitions upon the power of the Legislature to adopt such reforms. In England, where there are no similar constitutional inhibitions, reforms in criminal procedure have advanced much farther than here. There, under the provisions of recent statutes, amendments in criminal pleadings may be allowed, and prosecutions do not fail by reason of some wholly unimportant technical error in the pleadings. And it may yet be thought a subject worthy of consideration how long salutary reforms shall be hindered by that provision of our constitution which declares that "No subject

shall be held to answer for any crime or offence until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally, described to him." Very much that was deemed essential a hundred, or even fifty years ago, to a *formal* description of crime, has been abolished from the forms of criminal pleading by our Legislature. Would it be any greater violation of the spirit or even the letter of this constitutional provision to allow amendments in mere matter of form?

Before bringing these desultory remarks to a close, a single other topic may perhaps properly claim a moment's notice. It is often said crime is alarmingly on the increase, that it abounds beyond all former precedent, that there is an epidemic of atrocities, of gigantic frauds, of endless peculations and breaches of trust, which show the present to be corrupt and wicked beyond all past ages.

It is undeniably true, that crimes of violence abound in our day — not a few of which have been of the most atrocious character; that the frequency of fraud in high and low places has put faith in human virtue to the severest test, and that Society has been infested with swarms of worthless and criminal vagrants. But it does not require a very extensive acquaintance with the history of crime in former ages to convince the student that this state of things is not peculiar to our own times. That is a shallow philosophy and a weak sentimentalism which searches for the causes of crime in mere externals, in states of society alone. Crimes and offences have had a common origin in all ages of the world. "For it is out of the heart that murders, adulteries, thefts, false witness, and blasphemies proceed." And it is impossible not to believe that this fountain of wickedness and crime has been in some degree purified and made better by the

civilizing and christianizing influences of the last eighteen centuries ; and that there has never been a time when life and property were better protected, or more secure under law than at the present. The vast accumulation of personal property, and the immense deposits which have been intrusted to the management of a few individuals, have undoubtedly multiplied opportunities and increased temptations to fraud and speculation ; and startling defalcations have disturbed for a time the currents of honest and legitimate commerce. But still the majesty of law and the strength of public sentiment never raised more effectual barriers against the recurrence of these wrongs, or more certainly brought offenders to condign punishment than now. All attempts, therefore, to create alarm for the safety of society or property are groundless. General education and a careful inculcation of respect for law and the sacred rights of person and property are doubtless necessary for our safety ; and a return to the old and better notions of justice, which demanded that offenders should be punished because they were *guilty*, and not sent to hospitals because they were merely *unfortunate*, would add much to the power of law and the efficacy to its administration.

Nº 66.



No. 66.

PROCEEDINGS

Volume 10

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT BOSTON,

APRIL 26, 1876.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
CENTRAL EXCHANGE.

1876.



PROCEEDINGS

Thurman S. Green

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT BOSTON,

APRIL 26, 1876.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
CENTRAL EXCHANGE.
1876.



C O N T E N T S.

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	11
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	63
DONORS AND DONATIONS	75
REPORT OF THE 'TREASURER	86
NOTES RELATING TO THE LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	89



PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1876, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, IN BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

THE record of the last meeting was read and approved.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., read the report of the Council.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual reports, which were adopted as parts of the Report of the Council, and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The Recording Secretary reported from the Council the names of the following gentlemen, as candidates for membership of the Society: Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, of Lexington, Prof. EDWARD HITCHCOCK, of Amherst, GEORGE DEXTER, Esq., of Cambridge, REUBEN A. GUILD, Esq., of Providence, and CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., of Boston, and they were by ballot unanimously elected members of the Society.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN called the attention of the Society to the recent doubts thrown over the subject of John Verrazzano and his voyages. The accounts of the discovery of

a large portion of the North American coast by Verrazzano, in 1524, were accepted as historic truth for a period of more than three hundred years. This claim rests on Verrazzano's letter to Francis I., dated Dieppe, July 8, 1524, couched in general terms, but describing his voyage and discoveries. The letter was not published in France, nor anywhere, till 1556, when it appeared in the collection of voyages edited by Ramusio, published in Venice. No documents have been found to confirm the statements of the letter, but those statements were never seriously called in question till the publication by the late Buckingham Smith of two noticeable articles, in 1864 and 1869, in which he maintained that the whole letter was a fraud, and that no such discoveries were ever made by Verrazzano. In 1874 Hon. J. Carson Brevoort, a member of this Society, published an argument in support of the claim of Verrazzano which had previously been read before the American Geographical Society of New York, and Hon. Henry C. Murphy, of New York, has recently submitted his views on this question in an elaborate and able pamphlet of two hundred pages, in which he vindicates at length and with exhaustive research the views adopted and enforced in the articles published by Mr. Smith.

It becomes therefore interesting to consider the weight of argument on one side and the other, and attempt a judicial finding on the merits of the claim. This would have been attempted at the present time but for other pressing engagements, and also the recent "Plca for a stay of judgment" (a small pamphlet on the same subject published a few weeks ago in New York), on the ground of newly discovered evidence in favor of the claim of Verrazzano. From these circumstances, it is proper that the full examination of

the subject he deferred till the next meeting of the Society, when it is hoped some member will be moved to enter upon its consideration. In the mean time the attention of the members generally is invited to it, as a subject the investigation of which cannot fail to be found interesting.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., said that he had listened with great pleasure to what had just fallen from the Secretary in reference to the alleged discoveries of Verrazzano in North America, as it gave some assurance that we might expect a paper on that subject from his accomplished pen, reviewing what had recently been written by Mr. Brevoort and by Mr. Murphy. He had read with great interest the volume recently issued by the distinguished scholar last named, who argues against the genuineness of the voyage and the memorials which exist in our literature in favor of it; and he had been much impressed with the thoroughness of his investigations, and the soundness of his argument. Every document had been subjected by Mr. Murphy to the most rigid analysis. The late Buckingham Smith read a paper before the New York Historical Society some dozen years ago, afterwards published, in which he took similar ground as to the genuineness of the Verrazzano voyage. He dedicated his "Inquiry," as he called his paper, to Mr. Murphy, who has now in turn dedicated this volume to the memory of his late friend. Mr. Smith's paper was accompanied by an engraved section of a copper globe (that part representing America) made, according to an inscription upon it, in 1542, by Euphrosynus Ulpus, and containing a legend in these words, "Verrazano, sive Nova Gallia a Verrazano Florentino Comperta anno sal. M. D." This memorial was found by Mr. Smith in Spain, and now

belongs to the New York Historical Society. The globe was a standing argument against Mr. Smith's theory, and had to be surmounted by him. Mr. Murphy has had to encounter additional obstacles, but he feels confident that he has made his way through them all.

The suspicious circumstance against the Verrazzano voyage, alleged to have been made in 1524 by this Florentine in the service of Francis the first of France, is, that no contemporary account of it, or reference to it, exists, either in the archives of France or anywhere else; and the French government never made any claim based on such a discovery. The relation of it first appears in 1556, in the third volume of Ramusio, in the form of a letter from the navigator to the King of France; this publication being some years after the death of the King, and also of Chabot, his Minister of Marine.

But since Buckingham Smith wrote, a new argument or fact has sprung up in favor of the genuineness of this voyage, in the shape of an early map, discovered in Rome, and first brought to public notice in 1853, by M. Thomassey, but only quite recently made available to historical scholars. It was published by the American Geographical Society in 1873. The map purports to have been made by Hieronimo de Verrazzano, supposed to have been a relative, perhaps a brother, of the navigator. The map bears no date, but has upon it a legend referring to the latter's discoveries in the new world, implying that it was made five years afterwards, which would give 1529 as the date. Mr. Murphy had to encounter this, and also the globe of Ulpinus of 1542, just referred to, both bearing date before the letter in Ramusio; as well as the discourse of Pierre Crignon of 1539,

which immediately follows the letter in Ramusio, and which also speaks of Verrazzano's discovery. He also passes in review Lok's map, published by Hakluyt in 1582, and said by Hakluyt to have been taken from an old excellent map supposed to have been made by Verrazzano, and presented by him to King Henry the eighth, and also an old excellent globe in the Queen's privy gallery at Westminster, supposed to have been made by the navigator.

Mr. DEANE said he thus briefly and imperfectly alluded to some of the difficulties which Mr. Murphy had to encounter in coming to the conclusion that Verrazzano never made the voyage which somebody has narrated in Ramusio. Mr. Murphy believes that the writer of that letter had before him the description of the voyage of Estévan Gomez, actually made to these shores in 1525, and described by Oviedo and Peter Martyr. In concluding his remarks, Mr. DEANE said he rose for the purpose principally of expressing the hope that the Secretary would prepare and lay before the Society a paper on the subject of the Verrazzano voyage.

Rev. R. C. WATERSTON spoke of the success of the Society in collecting accurate representations of the Aborigines of our country. He took occasion to exhibit and present to the Society a collection of photographs of Indians, which, he ventured to hope, would be recognized as a contribution of value in this department. He also presented the photograph of a native of Labrador who had reached the age of over one hundred years, and a larger one representing the architecture and domestic life of Labrador.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., read some extracts from a manuscript collection of letters written by Edward Trelawny,

an Englishman, who visited this country in 1635. He found in them interesting and graphic pictures of early American life, and stated that they would be published in some form at an early day.

The same gentleman spoke also in regard to the recent inquiry, whether General Washington was born in England, and without venturing to affirm that the evidence tending to show that he was born there was by any means conclusive, claimed that the subject was worthy of consideration, especially in view of the statements that his ancestry came from the County of Middlesex. The Society indicated formally a hope that Mr. THORNTON would prepare a paper upon that subject.

MUND QUINCY, Esq., made a statement in regard to John Grosvenor's tombstone in a cemetery in Roxbury. He died in 1691, and the coat of arms on the stone is identical with that of the Marquis of Westminster.

Col. A. H. HOYT then offered, for the consideration of the Society, some remarks, which are printed on another page of the proceedings, in regard to some of the early laws of the State of New Hampshire.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

It is a pleasure for the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, to be able to report to its members, that the condition of the Society, and the state of the Library, are satisfactory in all respects, except with regard to space for its literary collections. Each six months' additions only render apparent the urgent necessity of more shelf room. With alcoves and cases already crowded, tables are brought into use; and even such temporary make-shifts have now ceased to offer further opportunities for extension. The Building Fund amounts to \$12,992.14, which is not yet sufficiently large to furnish the much needed addition to the Library Building. The learned Librarian, Mr. Haven, with a constantly increasing capacity for usefulness, gives the fruits of his researches to the written and personal application of the scholar, with a kindly courtesy, which makes the recipient feel, that it is he who has conferred the benefit. The additions to the Library, since the date of the last report, are 895 Books, 6954 Pamphlets, and 371 files of unbound Newspapers; and these accessions, with few exceptions, are made up of many special donations of a few volumes each. Mr. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, has managed the exchange of books with other libraries, with an ability of much value to the Society. A knowledge of the system of exchanges, on the part of the public, has brought out

many duplicate books as donations which otherwise would have been withheld, and the richness of the harvest will appear in the Librarian's report. Our rooms have been much resorted to for material connected with subjects of interest at the Centennial Anniversary of our country, as the Library is especially rich in books and publications of the last century. The report of the Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., which together with that of the Librarian forms a part of the report of the Council, is herewith presented. An examination will show that the funds of the institution are safely and productively invested.

It is our duty to take notice of the death of the celebrated French geographer, Marie-Armand-Pascal D'Avezac-aya, a member of this Society since April, 1869, who died at Paris in January, 1875. He was born at Bagnères de Bigorre, in 1799, and fitted himself as an advocate at Paris. He was for a time an *employé* of the Minister of Marine, and became the head of that bureau. In 1823 he published *Essais Historiques sur la Bigorre*. This was followed by a great variety of articles, both separately published and contained in the periodicals of the day. As Secretary of the Geographical Society, abundant evidence of his industry and learning may be found in the *Bulletin*, the official organ of the Society. He was afterwards made honorary President of that association. The following may be named among his important publications: *Martin Hydruntinus, et Walzenuthen, ses ouvrages et ses collaborateurs*, Paris, 1867; *John and Sebastian Cabot*, translated into English by Dr. Leonard Woods for the Maine Historical Society; *Relation authentique du voyage du Capitaine de Gonnevillle*, Paris, 1869; and *Notice des découvertes, faites*

au moyen-age dans l'Ocean Atlantique, Paris, 1869. M. D'Avezac was *Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur*, and was decorated with several foreign orders. Though he was not personally active in our Society, his name is familiar, as his authority has been so often quoted in our recent geographical inquiries.

Hon. Theron Metcalf died in Boston November 13, 1875, at the advanced age of ninety-one years. He was elected a member of this Society in 1844, and generally attended its meetings in Boston, unless prevented by his judicial duties; continuing this practice until almost the close of his life.

Judge Metcalf was born in Franklin, Mass., October 16, 1784, and grew up under the preaching of the celebrated Dr. Emmons. He was graduated at Brown University in 1805, and commenced the study of his profession at the Law School in Litchfield, Conn. He was admitted to the bar in 1808, and, after a brief practice in his native town, removed to Dedham, in this State, where he remained till his appointment to the Supreme Bench in 1848.

The Law School of Litchfield was prolific of distinguished jurists, and the highly cultivated ladies of that quiet town not unfrequently became the wives of eminent lawyers. The husbands of the four daughters of Hon. Uriah Tracy, U. S. S., were all judges, who had been connected with the Law School, viz.: Judge Gould, an associate professor with Judge Reeve; Judge Howe, of Northampton, in this State; Judge Metcalf; and Judge Robbins, of Kentucky.

Commencing his professional life with the advantages of the best legal training, Judge Metcalf was remarkably adapted to legal studies. By the natural turn and quality

of his mind he was an antiquary, and delighted in tracing the obscurest principles of law through ancient treatises and decisions to their establishment by undeniable authority. His memory was characterized by Horace Mann as an incapacity to forget, and was of extraordinary tenacity and precision. He became a formidable critic of the technical accuracy of the decisions of the courts, and was an excellent annotator of legal publications. The by-ways of literature and history were not less attractive to him than those of law, and he began early to form for the library of his Alma Mater a collection of pamphlets which, at the time of his death, were about eight thousand in number. These he had caused to be bound in three hundred and seventy-five volumes, which were all carefully indexed by himself. He had also contributed many rare and curious works to the college as gifts, or such as he purchased on behalf of that institution.

Judge Metcalf had been County Attorney, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and Reporter of Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State; and held the office last named when he was appointed a Justice of the same court in 1848. His legal publications were numerous, and have received the highest encomiums from the profession. He also wrote many articles for the Reviews, and sometimes indulged the dry and caustic humor which was natural to him in very quaint forms of expression. His general acquirements, the extent and particularity of his information, and the clearness of his statements of details, were highly appreciated by his associates on the bench; while he had

it in his power to be a most agreeable and instructive companion in society.

We are also called upon to lament the loss of Hon. John H. Clifford, who died suddenly January 2, 1876. He has been a member of this Society since April, 1870. His genial and attractive manners, and his sterling common sense, united to ability and industry, made him a universal favorite, and a man of weight and influence in his State and in the country. Governor Clifford was born at Providence, Rhode Island, January 16, 1809. He graduated at Brown University in 1827. Practicing law in New Bedford, he was early recognized as a leader at the bar in that section of the State. From 1834 to 1858, he was in the Massachusetts Legislature, and was District Attorney or Attorney General from 1849 to 1853, when he became Governor for a single year. He was again Attorney General from 1854 to 1858, at which time he retired from active official life. In every public position, he performed the duties devolving upon him with scrupulous fidelity, and with a grace which was recognized by men of all parties. His readiness to exert his talents to promote the enjoyment of his associates, gave him great popularity in the community. For many years Governor Clifford was an active member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, though not a graduate of that college, and he was President of the Board from 1868 to 1874, when his term expired by limitation. Brown University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1849. Harvard and Amherst Colleges honored him with similar degrees four years later. He was a member of various literary societies, and associations interested in scientific and historical inquiries. His connection with

the Boston and Providence Railroad as Director and President was of long standing: and his successful administration was a proof that to his other talents he united a capacity for the details of ordinary business. In all the relations of life, public and private, Governor Clifford presented an unfailing example of what a good citizen should be, and he was followed to his rest with wide-spread respect and sorrow.

The Société Américaine de France, (an association, like our own, having the study of American Antiquities as a principal object, and likely to become prominent in this field of inquiry), has already been briefly mentioned by our Librarian; but the reception of the *Annuaire* for 1873, and a statement of the present condition of the Society in the *Journal des Orientalistes* of February 5, 1876, gives occasion for a more extended notice. The Society was founded in 1857; and among those most active in its creation were M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, M. Léon de Rosny, and M. Alfred Maury. The objects of the association, as officially set forth, were, first, the publication of the works and collections of M. Aubin, the learned founder of a theory of American Archæology, which it was hoped would throw much light upon the hieroglyphical history of Mexico before the conquest;* second, the publication of grammars and dictionaries of the native languages of America; third, the foundation of

* M. L'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in his *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique* (Paris, 1859, vol. I. Preface), speaks of M. Aubin as the translator of the manuscript "*Historia Tulteca*," as the author of the *Mémoire sur l'écriture figurative et la peinture didactique des anciens Mexicains*, in which he reconstructed the system of Mexican figurative writing almost entirely, and as the present owner of what remains of the celebrated Roturini collection, and of many other historical treasures, gathered in his various travels.

professorships of History, Archaeology, and American Languages; and fourth, the creation, outside of Paris, of four Museums like the Museum of Saint Germain, under the auspices of such municipalities as encourage their foundation, as follows:

A.—Musée mexicaine.

B.—Musée péruvienne et de l'Amérique du Sud.

C.—Musée ethnographique de l'Amérique du Nord.

D.—Musée des Antilles.

The list of members contains the names of distinguished archaeologists in Europe, and a foreign membership already numerous; and it is contemplated to add to this list persons interested in kindred studies from all parts of the civilized world. The publications of the Society, and those made under its auspices, comprehend, among others, *Essai sur le déchiffrement de l'Écriture hiéroglyphique de l'Amérique Centrale*, by M. Léon de Rosny, President of the Society, 1 vol. in folio, with numerous plates. This work treats critically the much controverted question of the signification of Maya characters, and furnishes a key for their interpretation.* Also, *Chronologie hiéroglyphico phonétique des Rois Aztèques de 1352 à 1522, retrouvée dans diverses mappes américaines antiques, expliquée et précédée d'une introduction sur l'Écriture mexicaine*, by M. Edouard Madier de Montjau. The archaeology of the two Americas,

*"In the Congress of Americanists held last July at Nancy, France, M. Léon de Rosny delivered a masterly address on the Maya hieroglyphics. He critically analyzed the attempts at decyphering by Brasseur de Bourbourg and H. de Charencey. The Bishop de Landa first discovered a clue to their meaning. He made out seventy-one signs, which number Rosny has increased to one hundred and thirty-two. Rosny has also determined the order in which they should be read, as a rule from left to right, but in exceptional cases from right to left."
—[The Popular Science Monthly, New York, May, 1876, pp. 118-119.]

and the ethnography of their native tribes, their languages, manuscripts, ruins, tombs and monuments, fall within the scope of the Society, which it is their aim to make the school and common centre of all students of American pre-Columbian history. M. Émile Burnouf, an eminent archæologist, is the Secretary. The *Archives* for 1875 contain an article on the philology of the Mexican languages, by M. Anbin; an account of a recent voyage to the regions the least known of Mexico and Arizona, by M. Ch. Schoebel; the last written communication of M. de Waldeck, the senior among travellers; an article by M. Brasseur de Bourbourg, upon the language of the Wabi of Tehuantepec; and an essay by M. de Montjan, entitled *Sur quelques manuscrits figuratifs mexicains*, in which the translation of one of these manuscripts, by M. Ramirez of Mexico, is examined critically, and a different version is offered. The author arrives at the startling conclusion, that we have thus far taken for veritable Mexican manuscripts, many which were written by the Spaniards, or by their order, and which do not express the sentiments of the Indians. Members of this Society, also, took an active part in the deliberations of the *Congrès international des Américanistes*, which was held at Nancy in 1875.

It was a maxim of the late Emperor Napoléon III., that France could go to war for an idea. The Spanish as discoverers were actuated by the love of gold, and the desire of extending the knowledge and influence of christianity, prominently by promoting the temporal and spiritual power of the mother church. In their minds the cross and the flag of Spain were inseparably connected. The French, however, claim to be ready to explore, investigate and study, for

science and the discovery of truth alone. In addition to the *Commission Scientifique du Mexique* of 1862, which was undertaken under the auspices of the French government, and which failed to accomplish all that was hoped, the Emperor Maximilian I. of Mexico projected a scientific exploration of the ruins of Yucatan during his brief reign, while he was sustained by the assistance of the French. The tragic death of this monarch prevented the execution of his plans; but his character, and his efforts for the improvement of Mexico, earned for this accomplished but unfortunate prince the gratitude and respect of students of antiquity, and even of Mexicans who were politically opposed to him.*

The attention of scholars and students of American Antiquities is particularly turned to Central America, because in that country ruins of a former civilization, and phonetic and figurative inscriptions, still exist and await an interpretation. In Central America are to be found a great variety of ruins of a higher order of architecture than any existing in America north of the Equator. Humboldt speaks of these remains in the following language: "The architectural remains found in the peninsula of Yucatan testify more than those of Palenque to an astonishing degree of civilization. They are situated between Valladolid Mérida and Campeachy."† Prescott says of this region. "If the remains on the Mexican soil are so scanty, they multiply as we descend the southeastern slope of the Cordilleras, traverse the rich valleys of Oaxaca, and pene-

* *Geographia de las lenguas y carta ethnografica de Mexico.* By M. Orozco y Berra, Mexico, 1864. Introduction p. X. *La Situation actual de la Raza indigena de Mexico.* By Don Francisco Pimentel, Mexico, 1864, Dedication.

† *Views of Nature*, page 131.

trate the forests of Chiapas and Yucatan. In the midst of these lonely regions, we meet with the ruins recently discovered of several eastern cities — Mitla, Palenque, and Itzalana or Uxmal, — which argue a higher civilization than anything yet found on the American Continent.”*

The earliest account in detail — as far as we know — of Mayan ruins, situated in the States of Chiapas and Yucatan, is presented in the narrative of Captain Antonio del Rio, in 1787, entitled *Description of an ancient city near Palenque*. His investigation was undertaken by order of the authorities of Guatemala, and the publication in Europe of its results was made in 1822. In the course of his account he says, “a Franciscan, Thomas de Soza, of Mérida, happening to be at Palenque, June 21, 1787, states that twenty leagues from the city of Mérida, southward, between Muna, Ticul and Noxcacab, are the remains of some stone edifices. One of them, very large, has withstood the ravages of time, and still exists in good preservation. The natives give it the name of Oxmutal. It stands on an eminence twenty yards in height, and measures two hundred yards on each façade. The apartments, the exterior corridor, the pillars with figures in medio relievo, decorated with serpents and lizards, and formed with stucco, besides which are statues of men with palms in their hands, in the act of beating drums and dancing, resemble in every respect those observable at Palenque.”† After speaking of the existence of many other ruins in Yucatan, he says he does not consider a description necessary, because the identity of the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan and Palenque is proved, in his

* Conquest of Mexico, New York, 1843, vol. III., page 404.

† Description of an ancient city near Palenque, page 6.

opinion, by the strange resemblance of their customs, buildings, and acquaintance with the arts, whereof such vestiges are discernible in those monuments which the current of time has not yet swept away.

The ruins of Yucatan, those of the state of Chiapas and of the Island of Cozumel, are very splendid remains, and they are all of them situated in a region where the Maya language is still spoken, substantially as at the time of the Spanish discovery.*

Don Manuel Orosco y Berra, says of the Indian inhabitants, "their revengeful and tenacious character makes of the Mayas an exceptional people. In the other parts of Mexico the conquerors have imposed their language upon the conquered, and obliged them gradually to forget their native language. In Yucatan, on the contrary, they have preserved their language with such tenacity, that they have succeeded to a certain point in making their conquerors accept it. Pretending to be ignorant of the Spanish, although they comprehend it, they never speak but in the Maya language, obeying only orders made in that language, so that it is really the dominant language of the peninsula, with the only exception of a part of the district of Campeachy."†

In Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucatan*, the similarity of ruins throughout this territory is thus alluded to: "The incontestable

* *Quadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México*, by Francisco Pimentel, Mexico, 1865, p. 3. "The Maya is also still the spoken language of the Island of Carmen, the town of Monte Christo in Tobasco, and Palenque in Chiapas. With so much tenacity have the Indians preserved this language that to-day they speak no other, so that the whites find themselves obliged to learn it in order to make themselves understood."

† *Geographia de las Lenguas, y Carta ethnographica de México*, by Manuel Orosco y Berra, México, 1864, p. 156.

ble analogy which exists between the edifices of Palenque and the ruins of Yucatan places the latter under the same origin, although the visible progress of art which is apparent assigns different epochs for their construction."* So we have numerous authorities for the opinion, that the ruins in Chiapas and Yucatan were built by the same or by a kindred people, though at different periods of time, and that the language which prevails among the Indian population of that region at the present day, is the same which was used by their ancestors at the time of the conquest.

Captain Dupaix, who visited Yucatan in 1805, wrote a description of the ruins existing there, which was published in 1834; but it was reserved for M. Frédéric de Waldeck to call the attention of the European world to the magnificent remains of the Maya country, in his *Voyage pittoresque et archæologique dans la province de Yucatan, pendant des années 1834—1836*, Folio, with plates, Paris, 1838. This learned centenarian became a member of the Antiquarian Society in 1839, and his death was noticed at the last meeting. Following him came the celebrated Eastern traveller, John L. Stephens, whose interesting account of his two visits to that country in 1840 and 1841, entitled *Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, in two volumes, and *Incidents of travel in Yucatan*, in two volumes, is too familiar to require particular notice at this point. It may not be uninteresting to record the fact, that Mr. Stephens' voyages and explorations in Yucatan were made after the suggestion and with the advice of Hon. John R. Bartlett, of Providence, R. I., a member of this

* *Los tres siglos de la dominacion Espanola en Yucatan*. By Fr. Diego Lopez de Cogolludo.—Madrid, 1688.—Mérida, 1845, Lib. IV., Appendix A.

Society, who obtained for this traveller the copy of Waldeck's work which he used in his journeyings. Désiré Charnay, a French traveller, published in 1863 an account entitled *Cités et Ruines Americaines*, accompanied by a valuable folio Atlas of plates.

The writer of this report passed the winter of 1861 at Mérida, the capital of the Province of Yucatan, as the guest of Don David Casares, his classmate, and was received into his father's family with a kindness and an attentive hospitality which only those who know the warmth and sincerity of tropical courtesy can appreciate.* The father, Don Manuel Casares, was a native of Spain, who had resided in Cuba and in the United States. He was a gentleman of the old school, who, in the first part of his life in Yucatan, had devoted himself to teaching, as principal of a high school in the city of Mérida, but was then occupied in the management of a large plantation, upon which he resided most of the year, though his family lived in the city. He

* The family of Don Manuel Casares consisted of his wife—a very active and estimable lady,—three sons and six daughters. Of the sons, the two eldest, David and Primitivo, were educated in the United States. David Casares graduated with honor at Harvard College, and after a three years course at the *Ecole centrale des Arts et Manufactures*, in Paris, he passed a creditable examination for his degree. He was first employed, on his return to his own country, as Professor of Mathematics in the College of Minerva, a Jesuit College of Merida, but is now occupied in managing the plantation of his father, who died in 1864. Primitivo, the second son, studied mechanics and engineering at the scientific school in Cambridge, and employed himself in several machine shops and foundries in Worcester and Lowell, to prepare himself to introduce the use of machinery in his native country. He returned to his home in company with the writer, but died a year after, stricken down by fever, brought on by over-work while superintending the erection of machinery, upon one of the estates in the neighborhood of Merida. Both these men were great favorites in Cambridge and Jamaica Plain, where they resided, and are well remembered for their attractive and interesting qualities. The writer became acquainted with many of the prominent families of Merida and Campeachy, from whom he received hospitable courtesies and attentions; but it would here be out of place to acknowledge personal obligations.

was possessed of great energy and much general information, and could speak English with ease and correctness. Being highly respected in the community, he was a man of weight and influence, the more in that he kept aloof from all political cabals, in which respect his conduct was quite exceptional. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in his *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique*, acknowledges the valuable assistance furnished him by Señor Casares, whom he describes as a learned Yucateco and ancient deputy to Mexico.*

Perhaps some of the impressions received, during a five months' visit, will be pardoned if introduced in this report. Yucatan is a province of Mexico, very isolated and but little known. It is isolated, from its geographical position, surrounded as it is on three sides by the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean; and it is but little known, because its commerce is insignificant, and its communication with other countries, and even with Mexico, is infrequent. It has few ports. Approach to the coast can only be accomplished in lighters or small boats; while ships are obliged to lie off at anchor, on account of the shallowness of the water covering the banks of sand, which stretch in broad belts around the peninsula. The country is of a limestone formation, and is only slightly elevated above the sea. Its general character is level, but in certain districts there are table lands; and a mountain range runs north-easterly to the town of Maxcanu, and thence extends south-westerly to near the centre of the State. The soil is generally of but little depth, but is exceedingly fertile.

* *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique*, by M. L'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, vol. II., page 578.


There are no rivers in the northern part of the province, and only the rivers Champoton, and the Uzumacinta with its branches, in the south-western portion ; but there are several small lakes in the centre of Yucatan, and a large number of artificial ponds in the central and southern districts. The scarcity of water is the one great natural difficulty to be surmounted in most parts of the country ; but a supply can commonly be obtained by digging wells, though often at so great a depth that the cost is formidable. The result is that the number of wells is small, and in the cities of Mérida and Campeachy rain water is frequently stored in large cisterns for domestic purposes. From the existence of cenotes or ponds with an inexhaustible supply of water at the bottom of caves, and because water can be reached by digging and blasting, though with great effort and expense, the theory prevails in Yucatan that their territory lies above a great underground lake, which offers a source of supply in those sections where lakes, rivers and springs, are entirely unknown.

A very healthful tropical climate prevails, and the year is divided into the wet and the dry season, the former beginning in April and lasting until October, the latter covering the remaining portions of the year. During the dry season of 1861-2, the thermometer ranged from 75° to 78° in December and January, and from 78° to 82° in February, March and April. Early in the dry season vegetation is luxuriant, the crops are ripening, and the country is covered with verdure ; but as the season progresses the continued drouth, which is almost uninterrupted, produces the same effect upon the external aspect of the fields and woods as a northern winter. Most of the trees lose their leaves, the herbage dries up, and the roads

become covered with a thick dust. During exceptionally dry seasons thousands of cattle perish from the entire lack of subsistence, first having exhausted the herbage and then the leaves and shrubbery.

The population of the peninsula is now about 502,731, four-fifths of which are Indians and Mestizos or half-breeds. The general business of the country is agricultural, and the territory is divided into landed estates or farms, called haciendas, which are devoted to the breeding of cattle, and to raising jeuniken or Sisal hemp, and corn. Cotton and sugar are also products, but not to an extent to admit of exportation. Some of the plantations are very large, covering an area of six or seven miles square, and employing hundreds of Indians as laborers.

Farm houses upon the larger estates are built of stone and lime, covered with cement, and generally occupy a central position, with private roads diverging from them. These houses, which are often very imposing and palatial, are intended only for the residence of the owners of the estate and their major-domos or superintendents. The huts for the Indian laborers are in close proximity to the residence of the proprietor, upon the roads which lead to it, and are generally constructed in an oval form with upright poles, held together by withes of bark; and they are covered inside and out with a coating of clay. The roofs are pointed, and also made with poles, and thatched with straw. They have no chimneys, and the smoke finds its way out from various openings purposely left. The huts have no flooring, are larger than the common wigwams of the northern Indians, and ordinarily contain but a single room. The cattle yards of the estate, called corrals, immediately join the



residence of the proprietor, and are supplied with water by artificial pumping. All the horses and cattle are branded, and roam at will over the estates, (which are not fenced, except for the protection of special crops), and resort daily to the yards to obtain water. This keeps the herds together. The Indian laborers are also obliged to rely entirely upon the common well of the estate for their supply of water.

The Indians of Yucatan are subject to a system of *péonage*, differing but little from slavery. The proprietor of an estate gives each family a hut, and a small portion of land to cultivate for its own use, and the right to draw water from the common well, and in return requires the labor of the male Indians one day in each week under superintendence. An account is kept with each Indian, in which all extra labor is credited, and he is charged for supplies furnished. Thus the Indian becomes indebted to his employer, and is held upon the estate by that bond. While perfectly free to leave his master if he can pay this debt, he rarely succeeds in obtaining a release. The right of corporal punishment is allowed by law, and whipping is practiced upon most of the estates.

The highways throughout the country are numerous, but generally are rough, and there is but little regular communication between the various towns. From the cities of Mérida and Campeachy, public conveyances leave at stated times for some of the more important towns; but travellers to other points are obliged to depend on private transportation. A railroad from Mérida to the port of Progreso, a distance of sixteen miles, was in process of being built, but the writer is not aware of its completion.

The peninsula is now divided into the States of Yucatan, with a population of 282,634, with Mérida for a capital, and Campeachy, with a population of 80,366, which has the city of Campeachy as its capital. The government is similar to our state governments, but is liable to be controlled by military interference. The States are dependent upon the central government at Mexico, and send deputies to represent them in the congress of the Republic. In the south western part of the country there is a district very little known, which is inhabited by Indians who have escaped from the control of the whites and are called Sublevados. These revolted Indians, whose number is estimated at 139,731, carry on a barbarous war, and make an annual invasion into the frontier towns, killing the whites and such Indians as will not join their fortunes. With this exception, the safety of life and property is amply protected, and seems to be secured, not so much by the severity of the laws, as by the peaceful character of the inhabitants of all races. The trade of the country, except local traffic, is carried on by water. Regular steam communication occurs monthly between New York and Sisal, the port of Mérida, via Havana, and occasionally bargues freighted with corn, hides, hemp and other products of the country, and also carrying a small number of passengers, leave its ports for Havana, Vera Cruz and the United States. Freight and passengers along the coast are transported in flat bottomed canoes. Occasional consignments of freight and merchandise arrive by ship from France, Spain and other distant ports.

The cities of Mérida and Campeachy are much like Havana in general appearance. The former has a popula-



tion of 23,500, is the residence of the Governor, and contains the public buildings of the State, the cathedral—an imposing edifice,—the Bishop's palace, an ecclesiastical college, fifteen churches, a hospital, jail and theatre. The streets are wide and are laid out at right angles. The houses, which are generally of one story, are large, and built of stone laid in mortar or cement; and they are constructed in the Moorish style, with interior court yards surrounded with corridors, upon which the various apartments open. All the windows are destitute of glass, but have strong wooden shutters; and those upon the public streets often project like bow windows, and are protected by heavy iron gratings. The inhabitants are exceedingly hospitable, and there is much cultivated society in both Mérida and Campeachy. As the business of the country is chiefly agricultural, many of the residents in the cities own haciendas in the country, where they entertain large parties of friends at the celebration of a religious festival on their plantations, or in the immediate neighborhood. The people are much given to amusements, and the serious duties of life are often obliged to yield to the enjoyments of the hour. The Catholic religion prevails exclusively, and has a very strong hold upon the population, both white and Indian, and the religious services of the church are performed with great ceremony, business of all kinds being suspended during their observance.

The aboriginal ruins, to which so much attention has been directed, are scattered in groups through the whole peninsula. Mérida is built upon the location of the ancient town Tihoo, and the materials of the Indian town were used in its construction. Sculptured stones, which formed the ornamental finish of Indian buildings, are to be seen in the

walls of the modern houses.* An artificial hill, called "El Castillo," was formerly the site of an Indian temple, and is curious as the only mound remaining of all those existing at the time of the foundation of the Spanish city. This mound is almost the only trace of Indian workmanship, in that immediate locality, which has not been removed or utilized in later constructions.† It appears that a large part of the building material throughout the province was taken from aboriginal edifices, and the great number of stone churches of considerable size, which have been built in all the small towns in that country, is proof of the abundance of this material.

The ruins of Uxmal, said to be the most numerous and imposing of any in the province, were visited by the writer in company with a party of sixteen gentlemen from Mérida, of whom two only had seen them before. The expedition was arranged out of courtesy to the visitor, and was performed on horseback. The direct distance was not more than sixty miles in a southerly direction, but the excursion was so managed as to occupy more than a week, during which time the hospitality of the haciendas along the route was depended upon for shelter and entertainment. Some of the plantations visited were of great extent, and among others, that called Guayalké was especially noticeable for its size, and also for the beauty and elegance of the farm house of the estate, which was constructed entirely of stone, and was truly palatial in its proportions. This building is fully described by Mr.

* *Historia de Yucatan*. By Cogolludo. Mérida, 1845. Lib. III, cap. VII.

† *Ibid.* Lib. IV., cap. XII.

Stephens.* The works of this writer form an excellent hand-book for the traveller. His descriptions are truthful, and the drawings by Mr. Catherwood are accurate, and convey a correct idea of the general appearance of ruins, and of points of interest which were visited; and the personal narrative offers a great variety of information, which could only be gathered by a traveller of much experience in the study of antiquities. Such at least is the opinion of the people of that country. His works are there quoted as high authority respecting localities which he visited and described; and modern Mexican philologists and antiquaries refer to Stephens' works and illustrations with confidence in his representations, and with respect and deference for his opinions and inferences.†

At various points along the route, portions of ruined edifices were seen but not explored. The ruins of Uxmal are distant about a mile from the hacienda buildings, and extend as far as the eye can reach. They belong to Don Simon Peon, a gentleman who, though he does not reside there, has so much regard for their preservation that he will not allow the ruins to be removed or interfered with for the improvement of the estate, in which respect he is an exception to many of the planters. Here it may be remarked, that the inhabitants generally show little interest in the antiquities of their country, and no public effort is made to preserve them. The ruins which yet remain undisturbed have escaped destruction, in most instances, only

* *Travels in Cent. Am., Chiapas and Yucatan.* By J. L. Stephens. New York, 1858. vol. II., page 403.

† *Geographia de las Lenguas y Carta Ethnographica de Mexico.* By Manuel Orozco y Berra, Mexico, 1864, p. 100. *Ibid.* p. 115. *Quadro descriptivo y comparativo de las Lenguas indigenas de Mexico.* By D. Francisco Pimentel. Mexico, 1865. Tom. II, p. 86.

because their materials have not been required in constructing modern buildings. Much of the country is thinly inhabited, and parts of it are heavily wooded. It is there that the remains of a prior civilization have best escaped the hand of man, more to be dreaded than the ravages of time.

The stone edifices of Uxmal are numerous, and are generally placed upon artificial elevations; they are not crowded together, but are scattered about singly and in groups over a large extent of territory. The most conspicuous is an artificial pyramidal mound, upon the top of which is a stone building two stories in height, supposed to have been used as a sacrificial temple. One side of this mound is perpendicular; the opposite side is approached by a flight of stone steps. The building on the top, and the steps by which the ascent is made are in good preservation. Some of the large buildings are of magnificent proportions, and are much decorated with bas reliefs of human figures and faces in stone, and with other stone ornaments. The writer does not recollect seeing any stucco ornamentation at this place, though such material is used elsewhere. What are popularly called "House of the Governor" and "House of the Nuns," are especially remarkable for their wonderful preservation; so that from a little distance they appear perfect and entire, except at one or two points which look as if struck by artillery. The rooms in the ruins are of various sizes, and many of them could be made habitable with little labor, on removing the rubbish which has found its way into them.

The impression received from an inspection of the ruins of Uxmal was, that they had been used as public buildings, and residences of officers, priests and high dignitaries. Both

Stephens and Prescott are of the opinion that some of the ruins in this territory were built and occupied by the direct ancestors of the Indians, who now remain as slaves upon the soil where once they ruled as lords.* The antiquity of other remains evidently goes back to an earlier epoch, and antedates the arrival of the Spaniards. If the Indians of the time of the conquest occupied huts like those of the Indians of to-day, it is not strange that all vestiges of their dwellings should have disappeared. Mr. Stephens gives an interesting notice of the first formal conveyance of the property of Uxmal, made by the Spanish government in 1673, which was shown him by the present owner, in which the fact that the Indians, then, worshipped idols in some of the existing edifices on that estate, is mentioned. Another legal instrument, in 1688, describes the livery of seizin in the following words, "In virtue of the power and authority by which the same title is given to me by the said governor, and complying with its terms, I took by the hands the said Lorenzo de Evia, and he walked with me all over Uxmal and its buildings, opened and shut some doors that had several rooms (connected), cut within the space several trees, picked up fallen stones and throw them down, drew water from one of the arguadas (artificial ponds) of the said place of Uxmal, and performed other acts of possession."† These facts are interesting as indicating actual or recent occupation; and a careful investigation of documents relating to the various estates, of which the greater part are said to be written in the Maya language, might throw light upon the history of particular localities.

* Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, Stephens, vol. II., page 445. History of the Conquest of Mexico, Prescott, vol. III., page 370.

† Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, vol. I., page 323.

The Maya Indians are shorter and stouter, and have a more delicate exterior than the North American Savages. Their hands and feet are small, and the outlines of their figures are graceful. They are capable of enduring great fatigue, and the privation of food and drink, and bear exposure to the tropical sun for hours with no covering for the head, without being in the least affected. Their bearing evinces entire subjection and abasement, and they shun and distrust the whites. They do not manifest the cheerfulness of the negro slave, but maintain an expression of indifference, and are destitute of all curiosity or ambition. These peculiarities are doubtless the results of the treatment they have received for generations. The half-breeds, or *Mestizos*, prefer to associate with the whites rather than with the Indians; and as a rule all the domestic service throughout the country is performed by that class. *Mestizos* often hold the position of major-domos, or superintendents of estates, but Indians of pure blood are seldom employed in any position of trust or confidence. They are punctilious in their observance of the forms and ceremonies of the Catholic religion, and a numerous priesthood is maintained largely by the contributions of this race. The control exercised by the clergy is very powerful, and their assistance is always sought by the whites in cases of controversy. The Indians are indolent and fond of spectacles, and the church offers them an opportunity of celebrating many feast days, of which they do not fail to avail themselves.

When visiting the large estate of Chactun, belonging to Don Pepe Domingues, thirty miles south-west of Mérida, at a sugar rancho called Orkintok, the writer saw a large

ruin similar to that called the "House of the Nuns" at Uxmal. It was a building of a quadrangular shape, with apartments opening on an interior court in the centre of the quadrangle. The building was in good preservation, and some of the rooms were used as depositories for corn. The visiting party breakfasted in one of the larger apartments. From this hacienda an excursion was made to Maxcanu, to visit an artificial mound, which had a passage into the interior, with an arched stone ceiling and retaining walls.* This passage was upon a level with the base of the mound, and branched at right angles into other passages for hundreds of feet. Nothing appeared in these passages to indicate their purpose. The labyrinth was visited by the light of candles and torches, and the precaution of using a line of cords was taken to secure a certainty of egress. A thorough exploration was prevented by the obstructions of the *debris* of the fallen roof. Other artificial mounds encountered elsewhere had depressions upon the top, doubtless caused by the falling in of interior passages or apartments. There is no account of the excavation of Yucatan mounds for historical purposes, though Cogolludo says there were other mounds existing at Mérida in 1542, besides "El grande de los Kues," which, certainly, have now disappeared; but no account of their construction has come down to us.† The same author also says, that, with the stone constructions of the Indian city churches and houses were built, besides the convent and church of the Mejorada, and also the church of the Franciscans, and that there was still more material

* Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, Stephens, vol. I., page 212.

† *Historia de Yucatan*. Cogolludo. Lib. III., Cap. XI.

left for others which they desired to build.* It is then, certainly, a plausible supposition that the great mounds were many of them constructed with passages like that at Orkintok, and that they have furnished from their interiors worked and squared stones, which were used in the construction of the modern city of Mérida by the Spanish conquerors.

When the Spanish first invaded Mexico and Yucatan they brought with them a small number of horses, which animals were entirely unknown to the natives, and were made useful not only as cavalry but also in creating a superstitious reverence for the conquerors, since the Indians at first regarded the horse as endowed with divine attributes. Cortez in his expedition from the city of Mexico to Honduras in 1524, passed through the State of Chiapas near the ruins called Palenque,—of which ancient city, however, no mention is made in the accounts of that expedition,—and rested at an Indian town situated upon an island in Lake Peten in Guatemala. This island was then the property of an emigrant tribe of Maya Indians; and Bernal Diaz, the historian of the expedition, says, that “its houses and lofty teocallis glistened in the sun, so that it might be seen for a distance of two leagues.” According to Prescott, “Cortez on his departure left among this friendly people one of his horses, which had been disabled by an injury in the foot. The Indians felt a reverence for the animal, as in some way connected with the mysterious power of the white men. When their visitors had gone they offered flowers to the horse, and as it is said, prepared for him many savory messes of poultry,

* *Historia de Yucatan*. Cogolludo. Lib. III., Cap. VII.

such as they would have administered to their own sick. Under this extraordinary diet the poor animal pined away and died. The affrighted Indians raised his effigy in stone, and placing it upon one of their *teocallis*, did homage to it as to a deity."* At the hacienda of Don Manuel Casares called Xnyum, fifteen miles north-east from Mérida, a number of cerros, or mounds, and the ruins of several small stone structures built on artificial elevations, were pointed out to the writer; and his attention was called to two sculptured heads of horses which lay upon the ground in the neighborhood of some ruined buildings. They were of the size of life, and represented, cut from solid limestone, the heads and necks of horses with the mane clipped, so that it stood up from the ridge of their necks like the mane of the zebra. The workmanship of the figures was artistic, and the inference made at the time was, that these figures had served as bas reliefs on ruins in that vicinity. On mentioning the fact of the existence of these figures to Dr. Carl Hermann Berendt, who was about to revisit Yucatan, in 1869, he manifested much interest in regard to them, and expressed his intention to visit this plantation when he should be in Mérida. But later inquiries have failed to discover any further trace of these figures. Dr. Berendt had never seen any representation of horses upon ruins in Central America, and considered the existence of the sculptures the more noteworthy, from the fact that horses were unknown to the natives till the time of the Spanish discovery. The writer supposes that these figures were sculptured by Indians after the conquest, and that they were used as decorations upon buildings erected at the same time and by the same hands.

* History of the Conquest of Mexico. Prescott, Vol. III., page 294.

At the town of Izamal, and also at Zilam, the writer saw gigantic artificial mounds, with stone steps leading up to a broad level space on the top. There are no remains of structures on these elevations, but it seems probable that the space was once occupied by buildings. At Izamal, which was traditionally the sacred city of the Mayas, a human face in stucco is still attached to the perpendicular side of one of the smaller cerros or mounds. The face is of gigantic size, and can be seen from a long distance. It may have been a representation of Zamna, the founder of Mayan civilization in Yucatan, to whose worship that city was especially dedicated.

From this slight glance at the remains in the Mayan territory we are led to say a few words about their history. In the absence of all authentic accounts, the traditions of the Mayas, and the writings of Spanish chroniclers and ecclesiastics, offer the only material for our object. M. L'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, the learned French traveller and Archæologist, in his *Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale durant les siècles antérieurs à Christophe Colomb*, has given a very voluminous and interesting account of Mayan history prior to the arrival of Europeans. It was collected by a careful study of Spanish and Mayan manuscripts, and will serve at least to open the way for further investigation to those who do not agree with its inferences and conclusions. The well known industry and enthusiasm of this scholar have contributed very largely to encourage the study of American Archæology in Europe, and his name has been most prominently associated with the later efforts of the French in the scientific study of Mexican antiquities. A brief

notice of some of the marked epochs of Mayan history, as he presents them, will not perhaps be out of place in this connection.

Modern investigations, in accord with the most ancient traditions, make Tobasco and the mouths of the Tobasco river, and the Uzumacinta, the first cradle of civilization in Central America. At the epoch of the Spanish invasion, these regions, and the interior provinces which bordered on them, were inhabited by a great number of Indian tribes. There was a time when the major part of the population of that region spoke a common language, and this language was either the Tzendale, spoken to-day by a great number of the Indians in the State of Chiapas, or more likely the Maya, the only language of the peninsula of Yucatan. When the Spaniards first appeared, the native population already occupied the peninsula, and a great part of the interior region of that portion of the continent. Learned Indians have stated, that they heard traditionally from their ancestors, that at first the country was peopled by a race which came from the east, and that their God had delivered them from the pursuit of certain others, in opening to them a way of escape by means of the sea. According to tradition, Votan, a priestly ruler, came to Yucatan many centuries before the Christian era, and established his first residence at Nachan, now popularly called Palenque. The astonishment of the natives at the coming of Votan was as great as the sensation produced later at the appearance of the Spaniards. Among the cities which recognized Votan as founder, Mayapan occupied a foremost rank and became the capital of the Yucatan peninsula; a title which it lost and recovered at various times, and kept until very near to the date of the arrival

of the Spaniards. The ruins of Mayapan are situated in the centre of the province, about twenty-four miles from those of Uxmal. Mayapan, Tulha—situated upon a branch of the Tobasco river,—and Palenque, are considered the most ancient cities of Central America.

Zamna however was revered by the Mayas as their greatest lawgiver, and as the most active organizer of their powerful kingdom. He was a ruler of the same race as Votan, and his arrival took place a few years after the building of Palenque. The first enclosure of Mayapan surrounded only the official and sacred buildings, but later this city was much extended, so that it became one of the largest of ancient America. Zamna is said to have reigned many years, and to have introduced arts and sciences which enriched his kingdom. He was buried at Izamal, which became a shrine where multitudes of pilgrims rendered homage to this benefactor of their country. Here was established an oracle, famous throughout that whole region, which was also resorted to for the cure of diseases.

Mayan chronology fixes the year 258 of the Christian era as the date when the Tutul-Xius, a princely family from Tulha, left Guatemala and appeared in Yucatan. They conciliated the good will of the king of Mayapan and rendered themselves vassals of the crown of Maya. The Tutul-Xius founded Mani and also Tihoo, afterwards the modern city of Mérida. The divinity most worshipped at Tihoo was Baklum-Chaam, the Priapus of the Mayas, and the great temple erected as a sanctuary to this god was but little inferior to the temple of Izamal. It bore the title "*Yahan-Kuna*," most beautiful temple. A letter from Father Bienvenida to Philip II., speaks of this city in these terms, "The city is

30 leagues in the interior, and is called Mérida, which name it takes on account of the beautiful buildings which it contains, because in the whole extent of country which has been discovered, not one so beautiful has been met with. The buildings are finely constructed of hammered stone, laid without cement, and are 30 feet in height. On the summit of these edifices are four apartments, divided into cells like those of the monks, which are twenty feet long and ten feet wide. The posts of the doors are of a single stone, and the roof is vaulted. 'The priests have established a convent of St. Francis in the part which has been discovered. It is proper that what has served for the worship of the demon should be transformed into a temple for the service of God.' *

Later in history a prince named Cukulean arrived from the west and established himself at Chichen Itza. Owing to quarrels in the Mayan territory, he was asked to take the supreme government of the empire, with Mayapan as the capital city. By his management the government was divided into three absolute sovereignties, which upon occasion might act together and form one. The seven succeeding sovereigns of Mayapan embellished and improved the country, and it was very prosperous. At this time the city of Uxmal, governed by one of the Tutul-Xius, began to rival the city of Mayapan in extent of territory and in the number of its vassals. The towns of Noxcalab, Kabah, Bocal and Nöhpat were among its dependencies.

The date of the foundation of Uxmal has been fixed at A. D. 864. At this epoch, great avenues paved with stone,

* *Collection des Mémoires sur l'Amérique, Recueil des Pièces sur le Mexique trad. par Ternaux-Compans, p. 307.*

were constructed, the most remarkable of which appeared to have been that which extends from the interior to the shores of the sea opposite Cozumel, upon the North-East coast, and the highway which led to Izamal constructed for the convenience of pilgrims. A long peace then reigned between the princes of the several principal cities, which was brought to an end by an alliance formed against the King of Mayapan. The rulers of Chichen and Uxmal dared openly to condemn the conduct of the king of Mayapan, because he had employed hirelings to protect himself against his own people, who were provoked by his tyrannical exactions, and had transferred his residence to Kimpech, upon which town and neighborhood, alone, he bestowed his royal favors. His people were especially outraged by the introduction of slavery, which had been hitherto unknown to them. A change of rulers at Mayapan failed to allay the troubles in the empire, and by a conspiracy of the independent princes, the new tyrant of Mayapan was deposed, and he was defeated in a three days battle at the city of Mayapan. The palace was taken, and the king and his family were brutally murdered. The city was then given to the flames and was left a vast and desolate heap of ruins.

Then one of the Tutul-Xius, prince of Uxmal, on his return, was crowned and received the title of supreme monarch of the Mayas. This king governed the country with great wisdom, extending his protection over the foreign mercenaries of the former tyrant, and offering them an asylum not far from Uxmal, where are now the remains of the towns Poekboc, Sakbache and Lebna. It is believed that the city of Mayapan was then rebuilt,

and existed shorn of some of its former greatness, but later it was again the cause of dissension in the kingdom, and was again destroyed. This event is said to have occurred in A. D. 1464. Peace then reigned in Yucatan for more than twenty years, and there was a period of great abundance and prosperity. At the end of this time the country was subjected to a series of disasters. Hurricanes occurred, doing incalculable damage; plagues followed with great destruction of life; and thus began the depopulation of the peninsula. Then the Spaniards arrived, and the existence of Indian power in Yucatan came to an end.

The foregoing is necessarily an abridged, hastily written, and very imperfect sketch of some of the more prominent facts connected with the supposed early history of Mayan civilization, which have been brought together with care, labor, and great elaboration, by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. Much of this history is accepted as correct from the weight of the authorities which support and corroborate it, but the whole subject is still an open one in the opinion of scholars and archæologists.

The learned Abbé is now no more, but the record of his labors exists in his published works, and in the impulse which he gave to archæological investigations. We receive the first notice of his death from Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, who pays the following eloquent tribute to his memory: "Brasseur de Bourbourg devoted his life to the study of American primitive history. In actual knowledge pertaining to his chosen subjects, no man ever equalled or approached him. Besides being an indefatigable student, he was an elegant writer. In the last decade of his life, he conceived a new and complicated theory respecting the

origin of the American people, or rather the origin of Europeans and Asiatics from America, made known to the world in his '*Quatre Lettres*.' His attempted translation of the manuscript *Troano* was made in support of this theory. By reason of the extraordinary nature of the views expressed, and the author's well-known tendency to build magnificent structures on a slight foundation, his later writings were received, for the most part by critics utterly incompetent to understand them, with a sneer, or what seems to have grieved the writer more, in silence. Now that the great Americanist is dead, while it is not likely that his theories will ever be received, his zeal in the cause of antiquarian science, and the many valuable works from his pen will be better appreciated. It will be long ere another shall undertake, with equal devotion and ability, the well nigh hopeless task." *

Among the historical records relating to the aborigines of Spanish America, there is none more valuable than the manuscript of Diego de Landa—Second Bishop of Yucatan, in 1573,—which was discovered and published by M. de Bourbourg. It contains an account of the manners and customs of the Maya Indians, a description of some of their chief towns; and more important than all besides, it furnishes an alphabet, which is the most probable key that is known to us for reading the hieroglyphics which are found upon many of the Yucatan ruins. The alphabet, though imperfect in itself, may at some future time explain, not only the inscriptions, but also the manuscripts of this ancient period. Although an attempt of its discoverer, to

* The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America. By Hubert H. Bancroft. San Francisco, 1875. Vol. II., page 780.

make use of the alphabet for interpreting the characters of the manuscript *Trouno*, has failed to satisfy scholars, its study still engages the attention of other learned archæologists and antiquaries.

Bishop Landa gives the following description of Mayan manuscripts or books: "They wrote their books on a large, highly decorated leaf, doubled in folds and enclosed between two boards, and they wrote on both sides in columns corresponding to the folds. The paper they made of the roots of a tree, and gave it a white varnish on which one could write well. This art was known by certain men of high rank, and because of their knowledge of it they were much esteemed, but they did not practice the art in public. This people also used certain characters or letters, with which they wrote in their books of their antiquities and their sciences: and by means of these, and of figures, and by certain signs in their figures, they understood their writings, and made them understood, and taught them. We found among them a great number of books of these letters of theirs, and because they contained nothing which had not superstitions and falsities of the devil, we burned them all; at which they were exceedingly sorrowful and troubled." *

In Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucatan*, there is an account of a destruction of Indian antiquities by Bishop Landa, called an *auto-dã-fẽ*, of which we give a translation: "This Bishop, who has passed for an illustrious saint among the priests of this province, was still an extravagant fanatic, and so hard hearted that he became cruel.

* *Relation des choses de Yucatan*. By Diego de Landa, Paris, 1864, pp. 44, 316.

One of the heaviest accusations against him, which his apologists could not deny or justify, was the famous *auto-dã tẽ*, in which he proceeded in a most arbitrary and despotic manner. Father Landa destroyed many precious memorials, which to-day might throw a brilliant light over our ancient history, still enveloped in an almost impenetrable chaos until the period of the conquest. Landa saw in books that he could not comprehend, cabalistic signs, and invocations to the devil. From notes in a letter written by the Yucatan Jesuit, Domingo Rodriguez, in 1805, we offer the following enumeration of the articles destroyed and burned.

5000 Idols, of distinct forms and dimensions.

18 Great stones, that had served as altars.

22 Small stones, of various forms.

27 Rolls of signs and hieroglyphics, on deer skins.

197 Vases, of all dimensions and figures.

Other precious curiosities are spoken of, but we have no description of them."•

Captain Antonio del Rio gives an account of another destruction of Mayan antiquities, at Huegetan: "The Bishop, of Chiapas, Don Francisco Nunez de la Vega, in his *Diocesan Constitution*, printed at Rome in 1702, says, that the treasure consisted of some large earthen vases of one piece, closed with covers of the same material, on which were represented in stone the figures of the ancient pagans whose names are in the calendar, with some *chalchihuitls*, which are solid hard stones of a green color, and other superstitious figures, together with historical works of Indian origin. These were taken from a cave and given up, when

• *Histoire de Yucatan*. Cogolludo. Lib. VI. Appendix A, 1.

they were publicly burned in the square Huegetan, on our visit to that province in 1691." *

Prescott also mentions the destruction of manuscripts and other works of art in Mexico: "The first Arch-Bishop of Mexico, Don Juan de Zumarraga, a name that should be as immortal as that of Omar, collected these paintings from every quarter, especially from Tescuco, the most cultivated capital of Anahuac, and the great depository of the national archives. He then caused them to be piled up in a mountain heap, as it was called by the Spanish writers themselves, in the market place of Tlatelolco, and reduced them all to ashes." †

It is not then to be wondered at, that so few original Mayan manuscripts have escaped and are preserved, when such a spirit of destruction animated the Spanish priests at the time of the conquest. Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, whom we are happy to recognize as a member of this Society, in a systematic and exhaustive treatment of the history and present condition of the Indians of the Pacific States, has presented a great amount of valuable information, much of which has never before been offered to the public; and in his wide view, he comprehends important observations on Central American antiquities. He gives this account of existing ancient Maya manuscripts or books. "Of the aboriginal Maya manuscripts, three specimens only, so far as I know, have been preserved. These are the *Mexican Manuscript No. 2*, of the Imperial Library at Paris; the *Dresden Codex*, and the *Manuscript Troano*. Of the first, we only know of its existence, and the similarity

* Description of an ancient city near Palenque. Page 82.

† Prescott's Conquest of Mexico. Vol. I., page 101.

characters to those of the other two, and of the painted tablets. The *Dresden Codex* is preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden. The *Manuscript Troano* was found about the year 1865, in Madrid, by the Abbé de Bourbourg. Its name comes from that of its discoverer in Madrid, Sr. Troy Ortolano, and nothing whatever is known of its origin. The original is written on a piece of *maguey* paper, about fourteen feet long, and nine inches wide, the surface of which is covered with a whitish varnish, on which the figures are painted in black, red, blue and brown. It is folded fan-like into thirty-five folds, presenting when shut much the appearance of a modern large octavo volume. The hieroglyphics cover both sides of the paper, and the writing is consequently divided into seventy pages, each about five by nine inches, having been apparently executed after the paper was folded, so that the folding does not interfere with the written matter." *

It is probable that early manuscripts, as well as others of less antiquity than the above mentioned, but of great historical importance, yet remain buried among the archives of the many churches and convents of Yucatan; and it is also true that a systematic search for them has never been prosecuted. A thorough examination of ecclesiastical and antiquarian collections in that country, would be a service to the students of archæology which ought not to be longer deferred.

The discovery of the continent of America was made near this Peninsula, and the accounts of early Spanish voyagers contain meagre but still valuable descriptions of the country, as it appeared at the time it was first visited by

* The Native Races of the Pacific States. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. II., page 771.

Europeans. It may be interesting to call to mind some of the circumstances connected with their voyages, and with the first settlement of Yucatan by the Spaniards, and also to notice briefly some of the difficulties met with in obtaining a foot-hold in the new world.

Columbus on his fourth and last voyage, in 1502, left the Southern coast of Cuba, and sailing in a South-westerly direction reached Guanaja, an island now called Bonacca, one of a group thirty miles distant from Honduras, and the shores of the western continent. From this island he sailed southward as far as Panama, and thence returned to Cuba on his way to Spain, after passing six months on the Northern coasts of Panama. In 1506 two of Columbus' companions, De Solis and Pinzon, were again in the Gulf of Honduras, and examined the coast westward as far as the Gulf of Dulce, still looking for a passage to the Indian Ocean. Hence they sailed northward, and discovered a great part of Yucatan, though that country was not then explored, nor was any landing made.

The first actual exploration was made by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova in 1517, who landed on the Island Las Mugerres. Here he found stone towers, and chapels thatched with straw, in which were arranged in order several idols resembling women—whence the name which the Island received. The Spaniards were astonished to see, for the first time in the new world, stone edifices of architectural beauty, and also to perceive the dress of the natives, who wore shirts and cloaks of white and colored cotton, with head-dresses of feathers, and were ornamented with ear drops and jewels of gold and silver. From this island, Hernandez went to Cape Catoche, which he named from the

answer given him by some of the natives, who, when asked what town it was, answered, "Cotohe," that is, a house. A little farther on the Spaniards asked the name of a large town near by. The natives answered "Tectatan," "Tectatan," which means "I do not understand," and the Spaniards thought that this was the name, and have ever since given to the country the corrupted name Yucatan. Hernandez then went to Campeachy, called Kimpech by the natives. He landed, and the chief of the town and himself embraced each other, and he received as presents cloaks, feathers, large shells, and sea crayfish set in gold and silver, together with partridges, turtle doves, goslings, cocks, hares, stags and other animals, which were good to eat, and bread made from Indian corn, and an abundance of tropical fruits. There was in this place a square stone tower with steps, on the top of which there was an idol, which had at its side two cruel animals, represented as if they were desirous of devouring it. There was also a great serpent forty-seven feet long, cut in stone, devouring a lion as broad as an ox. This idol was besmeared with human blood. Champoton was next visited, where the Spaniards were received in a hostile manner, and were defeated by the natives, who killed twenty, wounded fifty, and made two prisoners, whom they afterwards sacrificed. Cordova then returned to Cuba, and reported the discovery of Yucatan, showed the various utensils in gold and silver which he had taken from the temple at Kimpech, and declared the wonders of a country whose culture, edifices and inhabitants, were so different from all he had previously seen; but he stated that it was necessary to conquer the natives in order to obtain gold, and the riches which were in their possession.

Neither Kimpech nor Champoton were under Mexican rule, but there was frequent traffic between the Mayas and the subjects of the empire of Anahuac. Diégo Vélasquez de Leon was at that time governor of Cuba, and he planned another expedition into the rich country just discovered. Four ships, equipped and placed under the command of Juan de Grijalva, sailed, in 1518, and first stopped at the Island of Cozumel, which was then famous with the Yucatan Indians, by reason of an annual pilgrimage of which its temples were the object. In their progress along the coast, the navigators saw many small edifices, which they took for towers, but which were nothing less than altars or teocallis, erected to the gods of the sea, protectors of the pilgrims. On the fifth day a pyramid came in view, on the summit of which there was what appeared to be a tower. It was one of the temples, whose elegant and symmetrical shape made a profound impression upon all. Near by they saw a great number of Indians making much noise with drums. Grijalva waited for the morrow before disembarking, and then setting his forces in battle array, marched towards the temple, where on arriving he planted the standard of Castile. Within the sanctuary he found several idols, and the traces of sacrifice. The chaplain of the fleet celebrated mass before the astonished natives. It was the first time that this rite had been performed on the new continent, and the Indians assisted in respectful silence, although they comprehended nothing of the ceremonies. When the priest had descended from the altar, the Indians allowed the strangers peaceably to visit their houses, and brought them an abundance of food of all kinds. Grijalva then sailed along

they had hitherto worshipped. After charging the Indians to observe the religious ceremonies which he had prescribed, and receiving a promise of conformity with his orders, Cortez again sailed and doubled cape Catoche, following the coast of the gulf as far south as the river Tabasco. Here, disembarking, notwithstanding the objections of the Indians, he took possession of Centla, a town remarkable for its extent and population, and a centre of trade with the neighboring empire of Mexico, whence were obtained much tribute and riches. After remaining there long enough to engage in a sanguinary battle, which ended in a decisive victory for the Spaniards, Cortez re-embarked and went forward to his famous conquest of Mexico.

From the time when Cortez left the river Tabasco, his mind was fixed upon the attractions of the more distant land of Mexico, and not upon the prosecution of further discoveries upon the Western shores of Yucatan; and until 1524, for a period of more than five years, this peninsula remained unnoticed by the Spaniards. Then Cortez left Mexico, which he had already subjugated, for a journey of discovery to Honduras, and for the purpose of calling to account, for insubordination and usurpation of authority, Cristoval de Olid, whom he had previously sent to that region from Vera Cruz. He received from the princes of Xicalanco and Tabasco maps and charts, giving the natural features of the country, and the limits of the various States. His march lay through the Southern boundaries of the great Mayan empire. Great were the privations of this overland march, which passed through a de-olate and uninhabited region, and near the ruins of Palenque, but none of the

established, by which in exchange for articles of Spanish manufacture, pieces of native gold, a variety of golden ornaments enriched with precious stones, and a quantity of cotton mantles and other garments, were obtained. Intending to prosecute his discoveries further, Grijalva despatched these objects to Vélasquez at Cuba, in a ship commanded by Pedro de Alvarado, who also took charge of the sick and wounded of the expedition. Grijalva himself then ascended the Mexican coast as far as Panuco (the present Tampico), whence he returned to Cuba. By this expedition the external form of Yucatan was exactly ascertained, and the existence of the more powerful and extensive empire of Mexico was made known.

Upon the arrival of Alvarado at Cuba, bringing wonderful accounts of his discoveries in Yucatan and Mexico, together with the valuable curiosities he had obtained in that country, Vélasquez was greatly pleased with the results of the expedition; but was still considerably disappointed that Grijalva had neglected one of the chief purposes of his voyage, namely, that of founding a colony in the newly discovered country. Another expedition was resolved on for the purpose of establishing a permanent foothold in the new territory, and the command was intrusted to Hernando Cortez. This renowned captain sailed from Havana, February 19, 1519, with a fleet of nine vessels, which were to rendezvous at the Island of Cozumel. On landing, Cortez pursued a pacific course towards the natives, but endeavored to substitute the Roman Catholic religion for the idolatrous rites which prevailed in the several temples of that sacred Island. He found it easier to induce the natives to accept new images than to give up those which

they had hitherto worshipped. After charging the Indians to observe the religious ceremonies which he had prescribed, and receiving a promise of compliance with his wishes, Cortez again sailed and doubled cape Catoche, following the contour of the gulf as far south as the river Tobasco. Here, disembarking, notwithstanding the objections of the Indians, he took possession of Centla, a town remarkable for its extent and population, and a centre of trade with the neighboring empire of Mexico, whence were obtained much tribute and riches. After remaining there long enough to engage in a sanguinary battle, which ended in a decisive victory for the Spaniards, Cortez reëmbarked and went forward to his famous conquest of Mexico.

From the time when Cortez left the river Tobasco, his mind was fixed upon the attractions of the more distant land of Mexico, and not upon the prosecution of further discoveries upon the Western shores of Yucatan. In 1524, for a period of more than five years, this remained unnoticed by the Spaniards. Then Cortez left Mexico, which he had already subjugated, for a discovery to Honduras, and for the purpose of account, for insubordination and usurpation of Cristoval de Olid, whom he had previously sent to that region from Vera Cruz. He received from the Xicalanco and Tobasco maps and charts, giving the features of the country, and the limits of the various provinces. His march lay through the Southern boundaries of the Mayan empire. Great were the privations of this march, which passed through a desolate and unpopulated region, and near the ruins of Palenque, but it

historians of the expedition take notice of the remains. When Cortez finally arrived at Nito, a town on the border of Honduras, he received tidings of the death of Cristoval de Olid, and that his coming would be hailed with joy by the Spanish troops stationed there, who were now without a leader. From the arrival of Cortez at Nito, the association of his name with the province of Yucatan is at an end, and the further history of that peninsula was developed by those who afterwards undertook the conquest of that country.

Francisco de Montejo was a native of Salamanca, in Spain, of noble descent and considerable wealth. He had been among the first attracted to the new world, and accompanied the expedition of Grijalva to Yucatan in 1518, and that of Cortez in 1519. By Cortez this captain was twice sent to Spain from Mexico, with despatches and presents for the Emperor, Charles V. In the year 1527, Montejo solicited the government of Yucatan, in order to conquer and pacificate that country, and received permission to conquer and people the islands of Yucatan and Cozumel, at his own cost. He was to exercise the office of Governor and Captain General for life, with the title of Adelantado, which latter office at his death should descend to his heirs and successors forever. Montejo disposed of his hereditary property, and with the money thus raised embarked with about four hundred troops, exclusive of sailors, and set sail from Spain for the conquest of Yucatan. Landing at Cozumel, and afterwards at some point on the North-eastern coast of the peninsula, Montejo met with determined resistance from the natives; and a battle took place at Aké, in which one hundred and fifty Spaniards were killed, and nearly all the

remainder were wounded, or worn out with fatigue. Fortunately, the Indians did not follow the retreating survivors into their entrenchments, or they would have exterminated the Spaniards. The remnants of this force next appeared at Campeachy, where they established a precarious settlement, and were at last obliged to withdraw, so that in 1535 not a Spaniard remained in Yucatan.

Don Francisco de Montejo, son of the Adelantado, was sent by his father from Tobasco, in 1537, to attempt again the conquest of Yucatan. He made a settlement at Champoton, and after two years of the most disheartening experiences at this place, a better fortune opened to the Spaniards. The veteran Montejo made over to his son all the powers given to him by the Emperor, together with the title of Adelantado; and the new governor established himself at Kimpech in 1540, where he founded a city, calling it San Francisco de Campeachy. From thence an expedition went northward to the Indian town Tihoo, and a settlement was made, which was attacked by an immense body of natives. The small band of Spaniards, a little more than two hundred in all, were successful in holding their ground, and, turning the tide of battle, pursued their retreating foes, and inflicted upon them great slaughter. The Indians were completely routed, and never again rallied for a general battle. The conquerors founded the present city of Mérida on the site of the Indian town, with all legal formalities, in January, 1542.*

But though conquered the Indians were not subjugated. They cherished an inveterate hatred of the Spaniards, which manifested itself on every possible occasion, and it required

* *Histoire de Yucatan*. Cogolludo. Lib. III, cap. VII.

the utmost watchfulness and energy to suppress the insurrections which from time to time broke out; and the complete pacification of Yucatan was not secured before the year 1547.

Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, in an interesting article in the North American Review, entitled "*Montezuma's Dinner*," makes the statement that "American aboriginal history is based upon a misconception of Indian life which has remained substantially unquestioned to the present hour." He considers that the accounts of Spanish writers were filled with extravagancies, exaggerations and absurdities, and that the grand terminology of the old world, created under despotic and monarchical institutions, was drawn upon to explain the social and political condition of the Indian races. He states, that while "the histories of Spanish America may be trusted in whatever relates to the acts of the Spaniards, and to the acts and personal characteristics of the Indians; in whatever relates to Indian society and government, their social relations and plan of life, they are wholly worthless, because they learned nothing and knew nothing of either." On the other hand, we are told that "Indian society could be explained as completely, and understood as perfectly, as the civilized society of Europe or America, by finding its exact organization."* Mr. Morgan proposes to accomplish this result by the study of the manners and customs of Indian races whose histories are better known. In the familiar habits of the Iroquois, and their practice as to communism of living, and the construction of their dwellings, Mr. Morgan finds the key to all the palatial edifices encountered by Cortez on his invasion of Mexico:

* North American Review. Boston, April, 1876. No. 251, page 265.

and he wishes to include, also, the magnificent remains in the Mayan territory. He would have us believe, that the highly ornamental stone structures of Uxmal, Chichen-Itza, and Palenque, were but joint tenement houses, which should be studied with attention to the usages of Indian tribes of which we have a more certain record, and not from contemporaneous historical accounts of eye witnesses.

In answer to Mr. Morgan's line of argument, it may be said, that the agreement of early voyagers and chroniclers, of whom there is so large a number, as to the main facts, is strong evidence that their impressions, as stated, were founded upon what they saw, and not on pictures of the imagination. Moreover, the existing undecyphered manuscripts, together with the hieroglyphical and symbolical inscriptions upon buildings, traced in characters similar to those found in aboriginal manuscripts, prove that there was a literature among the Mayan and Aztec races, which places them in a grade of civilization far above that of communistic Indian tribes of which we have any record. More than all, the manuscript of Bishop Landa, an eye witness of expiring Mayan civilization, with its detailed account of the political and social relations of the Indians of that country, is strong testimony to the correctness of the generally accepted theories regarding their social and political systems. The truthfulness of Bishop Landa's account is attested by its conformity to other accounts, and to the customs and usages of the Yucatan Indians of to-day, as described by recent travellers. We are obliged to consider the argument of Mr. Morgan insufficient to destroy the common opinions of three centuries and a half, in so far as relates to the Maya Indians.

Mr. Morgan also says that "the Aztecs had no structures comparable with those of Yucatan." If the only grounds for this statement are, that almost no ruins now remain in that country, and that the early accounts of Spanish writers, of what they themselves saw, are considered, by him, untrustworthy, the weight of probability seems, to the writer of this paper, on the contrary, to lie in quite the other direction. When Cortez left Havana, in 1519, he visited Cozumel, famous for its beautiful temples, and Centla, and certain other towns in Central America, on his way to Mexico. Having thus seen the wonderful structures of Central America, is it not strange, that the historians of that expedition, and Cortez himself, should be filled with wonder and amazement at what they found in Mexico, to a degree that disposed them to give a much more particular account of the Aztec palaces than of Yucatan buildings, if they were inferior to them in point of architecture? Mexico has since that time been more populous than Yucatan, and its ruins have naturally disappeared more rapidly in the construction of modern buildings; but the records of its former civilization exist in the accounts of the discoverers, and in the numerous relics of antiquity contained in the museums of Mexico, and scattered about in the archæological collections of Europe and America. The celebrated calendar stone found buried in the *Plaza Mayor* of Mexico, and now preserved in that city, demonstrates the astronomical advancement of the Aztecs in an incontrovertible manner, and that monument alone would establish their advanced position.

The observations and conclusions of a traveller and archæologist of large experience, as to the condition of Central America at the time of its discovery and settlement by the

Spaniards, are contained in the valuable monograph of Dr. C. Hermann Berendt, the discoverer of the site of ancient Centla, who having made a special study of the antiquities of that country in five expeditions, each of several years duration, is entitled to special consideration as one who knows whereof he speaketh.* This writer, while he concedes the insufficiency of consulting the records of Spanish writers alone, thinks that archæology and linguistics will at length furnish us the means of reading these records with positive results, as well as help us to a better understanding of the early history of this continent. He says "Central America was once the centre, or rather the only theatre of a truly American, that is to say, indigenous, development and civilization. It was suggested by Humboldt half a century ago, that more light on this subject is likely to be elicited, through the examination and comparison of what palpably remains of the ancient nations, than from dubious traditions, or a still more precarious speculation. And such palpable remains we have, in their antiquities and in their languages. Thus linguistic science has begun to invade the field of American ethnology: and let it not be forgotten that this science is as little bound, as it is qualified, to perform the whole task alone: archæology must lend a helping hand. We must have museums, in which the plastic remains of the ancient American civilizations, either original, or in faithful imitations, shall, in as large numbers as possible, be collected, and duly grouped and labelled, according to the place and circumstances of their discovery."

* Remarks on the centres of ancient civilization in Central America, and their geographical distribution. Address before the American Geographical Society, by Dr. C. Hermann Berendt. New York, 1876.

The plan for the study of Mayan and Central American ethnology, as indicated by Dr. Berendt, seems to agree most fully with the views entertained by some of the later writers in the publications of the Société Américaine de France, and may be thus stated in brief. *First*, The Study of Native Languages. *Second*, The Study of the Antiquities themselves. *Third*, The formation of Museums, where materials for archæological research may be brought together, and made accessible and available. From the study of aboriginal American history in this practical way, the most satisfactory results can not fail to be reached.

In this brief hour, it would be impossible to describe and elucidate this interesting subject, if the ability were not wanting; but it may be accepted as a welcome service, that draws the attention of this Society to an important field, which the Société Américaine de France, and other European archæologists, are regarding with increased interest.

For the Council,

STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THERE have been added to the library, since the meeting of the society on the 21st of October last, up to the 15th of this month, eight hundred and ninety-five books, six thousand nine hundred and fifty-four pamphlets, three hundred and seventy-one files of unbound newspapers, eighteen maps, fifty-five prints and engravings, one bust (in plaster), sixty-three photographs, and one hundred and seven manuscript contributions of various degrees of value and interest.

It will be observed that this is a better record of accessions during an interval of six months than it has been usual to present. Rather more than half of the books, and much the greater portion of the pamphlets, are gifts from members and other friends and well wishers of the society; but the character and importance of the aggregate result, as well as its numbers, are largely due to the unwearied efforts of Mr. Barton, the Assistant Librarian, especially in the matter of exchanges. He has diligently sought opportunities to make the duplicate materials, constantly accumulating in a library formed to a great extent by casual accessions available for procuring needed publications, and supplying deficiencies in series that come to us in an incomplete condition. The publications thus obtained are selected generally for a purpose, and are apt to be of special

importance to us. The additions from that resource have been three hundred and sixty-nine books, six hundred and forty-eight pamphlets, twelve bound and twelve unbound volumes of newspapers, and a portion of the photographs and manuscripts before mentioned. Some of these exchanges have been made at home, with gentlemen who have regarded the interests of this institution not less than their own, and have taken pains to make the advantage accruing to the library quite equal to that derived by themselves. It is a happy circumstance attending these operations that each party, from his own point of view, may get the best of the bargain without injury to the other. Mr. Samuel S. Green, of the City Library of Worcester, and Prof. Charles O. Thompson, of the Free Industrial School, are so kind always as to consider what may be useful to us while enlarging their particular collections; and the same is true of others whose opportunities are less frequent.

But Mr. Barton has also endeavored to embrace in his system institutions and individuals in other cities; and has examined their surplus accumulations, and arranged set-offs from those of the society, with care and diligence in the estimate of values according to the best guides at his command. It requires a good deal of time and labor to carry on these business proceedings judiciously and satisfactorily; but when properly conducted they may be made productive and profitable.

For the nature and extent of the donations to the library, attention is called to the list that accompanies this report. Among the names there mentioned the following members of the Society will be seen to have contributed publications of their own authorship, viz: Charles Hudson, Benson J.

Lossing, Hubert H. Bancroft, Ben: Perley Poore, Richard Frothingham, A. P. Peabody, Saml. A. Green, Robert C. Winthrop, John D. Washburn, Charles C. Jones, Jr., T. W. Higginson, George H. Preble, Nathaniel Paine, Isaac Smucker, A. H. Hoyt, Chandler Robbins, Charles Deane, S. C. Damon, James Davis Butler, Edward E. Hale, Henry M. Dexter, and George Bancroft.

It is a coincidence not unworthy of note, that while Mr. Bancroft, the historian of the United States, is completing his narrative of the growth and progress of the eastern part of the nation as a civilized community, another Mr. Bancroft has sprung up in the far west, who has, with marvellous rapidity, produced a history of the native races of the Pacific side of the continent, embracing also regions of the interior, in five large volumes, that are admitted to be nearly exhaustive of materials, and a remarkable instance of industry and ability in their arrangement and presentation.

Many of the donations, which cannot be classified or specified in this part of the report, will be found to consist of matters appropriate in kind and often liberal in number.

The donation received from Rev. Dr. Robbins proves to be a specially desirable one, and had apparently been selected with particular reference to its destination.

The generous gift of Mr. Charles Hamilton, of Worcester, consisting of twenty-six books, one thousand, three hundred and ninety-nine pamphlets, and two hundred volumes of the Worcester Palladium, ranging from 1834 to 1876, was made at considerable pecuniary sacrifice on his part.

An excellent bust (by Kinney) of the late Judge Charles Allen, long a member of the Society, presented by his family, is a valuable addition to that class of collections.

The duties incident to the charge of the library have been more than ordinarily engrossing during the past six months. The general interest in historical questions, growing out of the numerous commemorations of prominent historical events, has produced a concourse of inquirers seeking for original documents and rare sources of information among our papers; while, apparently stimulated by the same causes, there has been a marked increase in the number of persons desiring to trace their progenitors, especially where they are supposed to have had some connection with the War of Independence. The natural business at the rooms, and the correspondence connected therewith, have much exceeded those of former periods.

It has always been the aim of the society to preserve every thing that contained a fact, or the illustration of a fact, in history, no matter how humble its present aspect and associations. After the survey of aboriginal remains and the classification of aboriginal dialects, so far as these subjects were accessible to the observer and the student, and preceding the recent discoveries abroad which have placed uncivilized races in a new attitude as types and exemplars of prehistoric man, there remained comparatively little in the United States for a society of antiquaries to do except to lay up the seeds of archæological information to bear fruit at a future day. There were here no such objects of exploration as occupy the attention of archæologists in older countries; no ancient libraries in which to search for forgotten documents, no Roman camps, no deposits of coins, and relics of remote civilization, to bring to light and elucidate. This society has done, in the way of publication,

what a limited fund for that use enabled it to do ; but it has never faltered in its accumulation, by every means in its power, of those materials of history which are most liable to be lost. Having thus secured a large amount of somewhat peculiar literature, valuable for that very reason as a specialty, and indispensable to the purposes for which it was designed, it might be expected that our stores would be appreciated as constituting an important library of reference ; but that the society should become an educational institution in the technical sense, a co-worker with schools and seminaries in the instruction of youth, could hardly have been anticipated. It is true, however, that pupils from the higher academical institutions find our shelves richer than those of ordinary libraries in unhackneyed materials for themes and essays, and are almost constantly at our tables gathering information to compose or illustrate their regular exercises. This new form of usefulness of necessity confers upon the administrative officers of the library some of the duties and responsibilities of teachers. The questions to be answered and the knowledge to be imparted—more academical than historical—may bring them within the category of that honored profession, while it enlarges the sphere of their agreeable occupations.

In all the practical uses of the library there are evidences of advancement from year to year, almost from day to day, and a corresponding increase of efforts and means will be required to meet the demands that are likely to be made upon it. It is rapidly growing beyond the capacity of the economical system of management by which it has been built up to sustain the operations incident to its character and position.

In this centennial year of the Republic the attention of the entire country has been drawn to reminiscences of the Revolution, to a study of the services and influences rendered by communities, by associations of men, and by individuals, in producing the great result which made the United States of America a free and independent Nation.

From this starting point it is the aim of our widely spread and largely multiplied people to exhibit and illustrate the development and progress that have attended the actual working of the institutions of government and administration that were then established. All private persons and all public bodies seem excited to the effort of ascertaining and recording the part taken by their ancestors or predecessors in the important events which attended the birth of this empire of republican States.

It happens that the papers and patriotic proceedings of the founder of this institution are among those most eagerly investigated. Our society did not come into existence till the country was engaged in what has been sometimes termed the second war of Independence; but Dr. Thomas, its founder and first president, was art and part with the foremost of those who first rocked the cradle of Liberty in Massachusetts. He collected and published the first regular account of the battles of Lexington and Concord, and the newspaper that contained it was the first thing printed in Worcester. He was the organ of publication, in a pamphlet form, of the official account of the events of that 19th of April which was the date of his removal from Boston to Worcester. Through his enterprise and zeal a leading newspaper of the time was established here, and became one of the most active and effective agents and supporters of the

military and political movements of the time.* He intercepted the Declaration of Independence on its way to Boston long enough to obtain a copy of it for his paper, and was the first person in Massachusetts to read it to the people as they gathered before the steps of the old South Church in that town. Hence it is that his *Massachusetts Spy* is a leading authority for the events and the popular sentiments of the initiatory period of the Revolution. Such are the foundation stones upon which the society's inheritance of a local habitation was built. But for the necessity of his leaving Boston to raise the standard of Liberty in an interior town, and the different conditions of a business life which surrounded him in a rural village, Dr. Thomas might not, among the varied excitements and occupations of a city, have had his attention and interests drawn to the creation of an institution like this. It is certain that at the period of its organization, in 1812, he had renewed reason to feel, that security from the risks of foreign invasion was an important consideration in selecting a seat for its library and a centre for its working operations.

The credit of so much connection with the Revolution is reflected upon the society from the patriotic services of its founder. Its location certainly, and probably its existence, may be traced to the events which are this year the subjects of general commemoration. On the 4th of July, 1826, Dr. Thomas had the satisfaction, in his old age, of presiding at the semi-centennial celebration, in Worcester, of the Declaration of Independence; and on that occasion it was mentioned that he was the first person in the State to proclaim

* It was distributed by post-riders as far east and north as Newburyport, as far south as Providence and Newport, and west to Northampton and Deerfield.

the event to the people in the language of the official document.

We call to mind the fact that while "The Heart of the Commonwealth," which it was in 1775 as really as now, beat strongly in harmony with the most determined spirit of resistance to the tyranny of the mother country, the leading citizens of Worcester were generally royalists, who—as Mr. William Lincoln, its historian, says—"had sustained with equal fidelity and ability the highest civil and military offices, enjoyed the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and given testimony of their love of country by earnest exertions in its service." But "educated with sentiments of veneration for the sovereign to whom they had sworn fealty, indebted to his bounty for the honors and wealth they possessed, loyalty and gratitude alike influenced them to resist acts, which, to them, seemed treasonable and rebellious." We can better judge from a knowledge of this circumstance what an important position of responsibility and influence Mr. Thomas's newspaper held as the organ of Revolution for the interior portions of the Province. The columns of his paper were filled with patriotic sentiments, and their manifestation, in the records of personal service, and public acts and resolutions, on the part of the inhabitants. Among the latter the reader will notice a paragraph of great significance in view of the legal proceedings which subsequently occurred in the county, by which the non-existence of slavery in Massachusetts as a constitutional question was authoritatively established.

As early as the 18th of May, 1767, the people of Worcester, among the instructions given to Mr. Joshua Bigelow,

their representative elect, had introduced the following clause :

“That you use your influence to obtain a law to put an end to the unchristian and impolitic practice of making slaves of the human species in this Province ; and that you give your vote for none to serve in his Majesty’s Council who you may have reason to think will use their influence against such a law, or that sustain any office incompatible with such trust ; and in such choice prefer such gentlemen, and such only, who have distinguished themselves in defence of our liberty.” *

And when staking their lives and fortunes in defence of their own liberty, at a later period, they did not forget to maintain the natural rights of all human beings, without regard to color or condition.

The following notice is in the *Spy* of June 21, 1775, where it appears in the form of an advertisement :

“In County Convention, June 14, 1775.

RESOLVED, That we abhor the enslaving of any of the human race, and particularly the NEGROES in this country. And that whenever there shall be a door opened, or opportunity present, for anything to be done toward the emancipating the NEGROES, we will use our influence and endeavor that such a thing may be effected.

Attest.

WILLIAM HENSHAW, Clerk.”

The door was opened in September, 1781, when an indictment was found against Nathaniel Jennison, of Barre, for an assault on Quock Walker, his alleged slave.

An account of the trials that succeeded that indictment, and the legal principles asserted and sustained by the coun-

* The laws in reference to slavery, passed by this Legislature, were defeated by the Governor, acting under instructions from England. 84 Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 345.

cil and the court, which, in the language of Dr. Belknap, the historian, "put an end to the idea of slavery in this State," was read before the Historical Society in 1857, by ex-Governor Washburn, now the oldest member in precedence of the Antiquarian Society, save one, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bigelow, only, being before him.

And it was so recently as 1874 that the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, Judge Gray, was able to exhibit to the same society the original note book of the trials made at the time by the presiding judge, Chief Justice Cushing, containing his charge to the jury, and the doctrines then established by the Court. This important and conclusive document was printed for the first time in 1875, the centennial year of the Worcester Convention when the Resolution soon to be so effectively supported was adopted.

The name of Quaco, or Qnork, or Quock Walker, for it is spelled in all these ways, is, and is always to be, historical; and it would be interesting to know how its now distinguished owner came to be possessed of so singular an appellation. In a communication to the *Spy* from Newport, R. I., dated Aug. 31, 1776, and signed by Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins, on the subject of sending a missionary to Guinea, mention is made of a native of that country, named Philip Quoque, who resided at Cape Coast Castle as a missionary from the Society in London for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. It is probable, therefore, that the name is African, and had a meaning in the negro dialect.

It is a curious circumstance that the newspapers of the last month contain the following statement (I have it under the date of March 24, 1876):

"Quaco Walker, colored, died at Jefferson, Texas, recently,

aged, according to Dr. Walker, a prominent citizen, 134 years. He was born in North Carolina in 1742, and his life was spent in that State, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas."

Everything turns up at this Centennial era, and the name of Quaco Walker reappears, in a new region of the country, with a new and very different claim to distinction.

The Society has contributed to the National Exposition at Philadelphia what has seemed appropriate and advisable in view of all the circumstances of the occasion. Dr. Thomas's printing press is to stand there in working order, in the Printer's Hall, very little different in its structure from the presses employed in the infancy of the art; and with it are such articles of use in its operation—the furniture of the trade—as have by chance been preserved. The enterprising proprietor of the edifice, himself claiming to be the author of the latest improvement in the machinery of the art, will set in motion the implements with which Dr. Thomas did such effective work a century ago, in illustration of the wonderful advances since made in the construction and versatile functions of instruments that had before for centuries retained their primitive simplicity and rudeness.

Dr. Thomas will also again be seen in his History of Printing in America, now reproduced among the transactions of the Society after his own revision; whose advent at this particular epoch may almost be imagined to be the consequence of special interposition.

A set of the publications of the Society, uniformly bound, with copies of a pamphlet containing a *résumé* of their contents; a brief account of the institution; and a list of its officers and members, prepared by Nathaniel Paine, Esq.; will have a place assigned them in the United States Gov-

ernment Building, by Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education and Representative of the Department of the Interior. Being a national institution, it seems appropriate that our Society should be indebted to the General Government rather than to the State, or any local arrangement, for its quarters at the Exhibition; but the historical and descriptive pamphlet will appear in the volume to be prepared by the State Commissioners illustrative of the public institutions of this Commonwealth.

The Indian mummy, taken many years ago from a cave in Kentucky, is to be associated with other remains of the same kind belonging to the Smithsonian Institution, but labelled as a contribution from this Society.

The officers of this Society were urged by the Historical Department of the International Exhibition to undertake the illustration of the general history of Printing, by means of specimens of typography of various dates to be furnished by our library and supplemented by other specimens from the libraries of Philadelphia. But besides the inconvenience of selecting and transporting such specimens so great a distance, with the requisite classifications and explanations, under the pressure of other engagements, and the consideration that Philadelphia can supply these illustrations probably to an equal extent and with much greater facility, the arrangements already entered into by the Council have prevented an acceptance of this proposition.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

Hon. CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington.—The Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1875, containing Mr. Hudson's address.

BENSON J. LOSSING, Esq., Dover Plains, N. Y.—His article on Hull's Surrender of Detroit.

HUBERT H. BANCROFT, Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—The fifth volume (author's copy) of his work on "The Native Races of the Pacific States."

Maj. BEN: PERLEY POORE, Washington, D. C.—His Congressional Directory of December, 1875, compiled for the use of Congress.

Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Charlestown.—His Paper on the Battlefield of Bunker Hill: with a relation of the action, by William Prescott; and illustrative documents.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., Cambridge.—His Centennial Address at Cambridge, July 8, 1875.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston.—His Account of Percival and Ellen Green, and of some of their descendants; his Council Report of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1875; fifty-eight books; eighty-nine pamphlets; and one engraving.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston.—His Washington, Bowdoin and Franklin, as portrayed in occasional addresses; and the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, containing Mr. Winthrop's remarks.

JOHN D. WASHBURN, Esq., Worcester.—Mr. Doyle's Memorandum as to the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco, with introductory remarks by Mr. Washburn; and a large photograph of Worcester in 1876.

Col. T. W. HIGGINSON, Newport, R. I.—His essay on the Sympathy of Religions, second edition, 1876.

Commodore GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N.—The U. S. Navy Register for 1805-6, annotated by Commodore Preble; the Navy Register for 1800; and a colored map of the City of Jeddo.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.—His article on Portraits and Busts in Public Buildings at Worcester, Mass.; his account of the Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Associations; one hundred and one pamphlets; a large quantity of Worcester County newspapers, 1861-65; two photographs; one manuscript; The Christian Union in continuation; and newspapers in numbers.

ALBERT H. HOYT, Esq., Boston.—His Brief History of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1847-1876; two Indian, Episcopal Church Service Books; five pamphlets; five engravings; autographs of Calhoun and Hamilton; one manuscript; and a facsimile of the first number of the New Hampshire Gazette.

Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D., Boston—Thirteen of his own publications; twenty-nine books; four hundred and five pamphlets; and one manuscript sermon.

Major L. A. H. LATOUR, Montreal, Canada.—The supplement of 1875 to his "Annuaire de Ville-Marie."

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—His History of the United States, volumes 8, 9 and 10, of the octavo, and vol. 3 of the Centenary edition.

CHARLES DRANE, Esq., Cambridge.—His article on the Records of the Council for New England; and three pamphlets.

Rev. S. C. DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, H. I.—His paper on the Kings of Hawaii; and three pamphlets.

Prof. J. D. BUTLER, Madison, Wis.—His address on the Mayflower.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston.—Nine numbers of the "Old and New."

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., Boston.—His monograph as to Roger Williams and his Banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation.

Hon. CLARK JILLSON, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, January 3, 1876; the Scientific American, vol. 1, and a portion of vols. 2 and 3; one book; and three pamphlets.

Rev. B. F. DeCOSTA, New York City.—His Verrazzano: a motion for the stay of judgment.

Rev. E. G. PORTER, Lexington.—His Souvenir of Lexington, 1775-1875.

THOMAS S. KIRKBRIDE, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His thirty-fifth Annual Report as Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.

Hon. HENRY C. MURPHY, Brooklyn, N. Y.—His Voyage of Verrazzano: a chapter in the Early History of Maritime Discovery in America.

Rev. C. D. BRADLEE, Boston.—His poem on the death of Hon. Henry Wilson.

ELIHU BURRITT, Esq., New Britain, Conn.—His Sanskrit Handbook for the Fireside.

- Rev. A. P. MARVIN, Lancaster.**—His Bi-Centennial Discourse in Commemoration of the destruction of Lancaster by the Indians February 21, 1676.
- JOSEPH SABIN, Esq., New York City.**—His list of the editions of the works of Louis Hennepin and Alonso de Herrera.
- Prof. CHARLES RAU, New York City.**—Eight of his own publications.
- AMOS PERRY, Esq., Providence, R. I.**—His Carthage and Tunis, Past and Present.
- Messrs. FEARING BURR and GEORGE LINCOLN, Hingham.**—Their Hingham in the Civil War, 1861–1865.
- Hon. HENRY L. WILLIAMS, Salem.**—Memorial Services at the Centennial Anniversary of Leslie's Expedition to Salem, including Mayor Williams's Address.
- Rev. HENRY W. FOOTE, Boston.**—His Discourse on King's Chapel and the Evacuation of Boston.
- EDWIN M. SNOW, M.D., Providence, R. I.**—His 20th and 22d Annual Reports as City Registrar.
- WILLIAM B. TOWNE, Esq., Milford, N. H.**—His Historical Address at Amherst, N. H., on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Congregational Meeting-House.
- JOHN F. MARTHENS, Esq., Pittsburg, Pa.**—His Typographical Bibliography: a list of books in the English Language on Printing and its accessories.
- F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., Salem.**—His article on some of the Habits of the Blind Crawfish, and the Reproduction of Lost Parts.
- Rev. W. S. PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y.**—His Sermon in Westminster Abbey on Anglo-American Sympathy with Continental Reform; two books; and twenty-seven pamphlets.
- EDWARD W. LINCOLN, Esq., Worcester.**—His report for 1875, as Chairman of the Commission of Public Grounds.
- HENRY PHILLIPS, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.**—His article on the Earliest American Expeditions to the Arctic Regions, Voyages of the Argo in 1753–54.
- H. H. EDES, Esq., Charlestown.**—His Historical Appendix to the Massachusetts Election Sermon of 1871; a complete set of the Bunker Hill Monument Association Documents in three volumes; History of the Massachusetts General Hospital, edition of 1872; twelve books; and four hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets.
- Hon. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, Charlotte Court House, Va.**—His Discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776; and his Discourse on the Life of Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell.
- Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Worcester.**—His address on the death of President Lincoln; and one book.

- HON. CHARLES DEVENS, Jr., Worcester.**—His Oration on Bunker Hill June 17, 1875.
- HON. BENJ. A. WILLIS, New York.**—His Speech on the Centennial Celebration of American Independence.
- ISAAC CRAIG, Esq., Alleghany City, Pa.**—His article on Washington's Body Guard.
- ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal.**—His Address at the Dedication of the new building for the Boys' High School; and the twenty-second annual report of the Superintendent of Public Schools.
- HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY, Newport, R. I.**—His report for 1875, as President of the Board of Directors of the Redwood Library and Athenæum.
- HON. JAMES WILLIAMS, Columbus, O.**—His annual report as auditor of the State of Ohio for the year 1875.
- HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.**—One book; two hundred and ninety numbers of magazines; five files of newspapers; and a large photographic view of Worcester in 1876.
- J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston.**—The Lexington Centennial cards and notes of invitation.
- HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, Worcester.**—Capen's History of Democracy, Vol. I.; six miscellaneous books; forty-one pamphlets; and one map.
- JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y.**—His reprint of the 1777 edition of the New England Primer.
- HON. CHARLES H. BELL, Exeter, N. H.**—Eight valuable New Hampshire local histories.
- Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH, Andover**—The Andover Theological Seminary Catalogue for 1875-76.
- Rev. SYDNEY H. MARSH, Salem, Oregon.**—One pamphlet.
- Rev. E. M. STONE, Providence, R. I.**—Thirty-two Rhode Island pamphlets.
- ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O.**—Four selected pamphlets; and numbers of Ohio newspapers.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester**—Three books; one hundred and sixty-two numbers of periodicals, and twelve Astronomical views.
- HON. FRANCIS H. DEWEY, Worcester.**—Three books; and seventy-two pamphlets.
- HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D., Salem**—The Peabody Press for 1875, in continuation.
- EDWARD JARVIS, M.D., Dorchester.**—A package of foreign and domestic postage stamps.
- RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D., Worcester.**—One book, two hundred and sixteen pamphlets; and one map.

- Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester.—Eight volumes relating to Spanish America, for the Davis alcove; and three books, one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets, and one map, for the general library.
- Rev. W. R. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Worcester.—The Proceedings of the First and Second Congresses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.
- HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—The Overland Monthly for 1874 and 1875.
- Hon. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, Boston.—Fifty-five local histories.
- Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR.—Eleven Patent Office Reports; and twelve volumes of the Annals of Congress.
- Hon. GEORGE P. MARSH, Italy.—A Photograph from a patriotic picture, designed by Corbett at Boston, in 1778, and engraved at Philadelphia.
- MESSRS. J. S. ROGERS & Co., Worcester.—The Coal Trade Circular; and the Miner's Journal for 1875, in continuation.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester.—Four hundred and seventy-two City and Town Documents.
- The Misses KNOWLTON, Worcester.—About ten volumes of the Worcester Palladium. 1861-1875.
- Mr. JOHN M. BARKER, Worcester.—A specimen of manna from near Mount Ararat.
- Miss MARY C. GAY, Suffield, Conn.—The Connecticut Courant for 1875, in continuation.
- Miss LUCINDA BIGELOW, Worcester.—Forty-one books; ninety-one pamphlets; eleven lithographs; and newspapers in numbers.
- THE FAMILY OF THE LATE Hon. CHARLES ALLEN, Worcester.—A bust of Chief Justice Allen, by B. H. Kinney.
- WILLIAM CROSS, Esq., Worcester.—A parcel of financial and bank circulars.
- Mr. J. S. WESBY, Worcester.—Fourteen Directories.
- MESSRS. PUTNAM & DAVIS, Worcester.—Twenty-two periodicals.
- Mr. GARDNER S. ALLIS, Worcester.—The Federal Republican, of Georgetown, D. C., for 1812 and 1813; and four books of early dates.
- GEN. WILLIAM S. LINCOLN, Worcester.—Two record books of the Hampshire Washington Benevolent Society; and a manuscript Journal of the Congress of Massachusetts in April and May, 1775.
- Mr. A. M. HARRISON, U. S. Coast Survey.—A large photographic view of the Dighton Inscription Rock, taken in 1875; and twenty card photographs of Indian and Spanish remains.
- Rev. EUGENE VETROMILE, Bangor, Me.—An 1876 Calendar for the Penobscot Indians.

- Mr. SAMUEL E. STAPLES, Worcester.**—One book; fourteen pamphlets; and one engraving.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster.**—One book; and five pamphlets.
- Prof. C. O. THOMPSON, Worcester.**—Ten books; two hundred and twelve pamphlets; and ten manuscripts.
- Rev. CHARLES HAMMOND, Monson.**—Catalogues of Monson Academy for 1874-5 and 1875-6.
- Mr. CALKB A. WALL, Worcester.**—One book; and twenty-two pamphlets.
- Mr. MARVEN M. JONES, Utica, N. Y.**—One pamphlet.
- Mr. E. H. KNOWLTON, Secretary, Worcester.**—Specimens of the circulars and cards issued by the Citizens' Exchange.
- Capt. GEORGE E. DAVIS, Burlington, Vt.**—One pamphlet.
- Mr. ALFRED D. FOSTER, Boston.**—Rev. Mr. Fiske's Oration at Brookfield, Nov. 14, 1781, on the Surrender of Cornwallis.
- Mr. N. C. UPHAM, Worcester.**—The Phrenological Journal for 1867.
- Mr. CHARLES HADWEN, Worcester.**—Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, two volumes; Battey's Quaker among the Indians; and Biographical sketches and anecdotes of Friends.
- Mr. RICHARD O'FLYNN, Worcester.**—One book; and two pamphlets.
- Mr. A. S. FLANDRAU, New York.**—His illustrated catalogue of carriages.
- Mr. JOHN G. SMITH, Worcester.**—Four books; forty-two pamphlets; thirty six portraits; and nine maps.
- HENRY W. BROWN, Esq., Worcester.**—Forty-one pamphlets, chiefly relating to slavery.
- Mr. ANDREW S. WILSON, Worcester.**—Two ancient books.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.**—Two books; and seventy-two pamphlets.
- Mr. O. S. MERRIAM, Worcester.**—One book.
- HENRY J. HOWLAND, Esq., Worcester.**—The Records of the Trustees of the Ladies' Collegiate Institute; one book; and the Worcester Republican, complete.
- WILLIAM MENZIES, Esq., New York.**—A Catalogue of the books and manuscripts forming his private library.
- Messrs. ANTHONY and CHARLES A. CHASE, Worcester.**—Thirteen books; three hundred and twenty-three pamphlets; and seven maps.
- SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Esq., Augusta, Me.**—The Maine Genealogist and Biographer, in continuation.
- REUBEN A. GUILD, Esq., Providence, R. I.**—Brown University Catalogue for 1875-76; and an account of the semi-centennial celebration of the Rhode Island Baptist State Convention.
- R. A. BROCK, Esq., Richmond, Va.**—Newspapers containing historical papers communicated by himself.

- Gen. A. B. R. SPRAGUE, Worcester.—A political broadside.
- Mrs. JOHN NELSON, Leicester.—Two manuscript sermons of Rev. Dr. Nelson.
- HENRY A. WHITNEY, Esq., Boston.—Casgrain's Life of Francis Parkman.
- Mr. BENJ. J. DODGE, Worcester.—Two pamphlets; and a Fast Day Proclamation.
- R. W. WOOD, Esq., Boston.—The Hawaiian Club Papers, October, 1868.
- Mr. D. A. DAVIS, Worcester.—Two broadside documents of the town of Charlotte, N. C.
- HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Morrisania, N. Y.—The speech of Mr. John Checkley, upon his trial at Boston, in 1724.
- Hon. HIRAM A. BLOOD, Fitchburg.—The Fitchburg City Documents for 1875.
- ALBERT P. MARBLE, Esq., Worcester.—The Proceedings of the National Educational Association, for the year 1874.
- THE FAMILY OF THE LATE JAMES GREEN, Worcester.—One hundred and thirty-eight numbers of magazines.
- Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Washington, D. C.—Three volumes relating to the World's Exhibition at Vienna in 1873.
- Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Leicester.—Seventy numbers of the Congressional Record; twenty-five miscellaneous pamphlets; the Liberal Christian; and the Woman's Journal, in continuation.
- D. WALDO SALISBURY, Esq., Boston.—The Reports of the Home for Aged Men, numbers one to fifteen.
- E. H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose.—Reports of the town officers of Melrose for 1875-6.
- Mr. JOHN K. ROGERS, Agent, Boston.—A book of specimens, from the Boston Type Foundry, 4to, 1876.
- Mr. CHARLES HAMILTON, Worcester.—Twenty-six books; thirteen hundred and ninety-nine pamphlets; and about two hundred volumes of the Worcester Palladium, 1834-76.
- Messrs. GLENDINNING, DAVIS & AMORY, New York.—The New York Gold Exchange Quotations, 1862-1876.
- JOSEPH DRAPER, M.D., Brattleboro, Vt.—Four hundred and thirty-seven Insane Asylum Reports and Medical pamphlets.
- R. T. BUCK, Esq., Millbury.—Buck Brothers' Price List of Chisels, Plane Irons, Gouges, Carving Tools, &c.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Seventeen pamphlets.
- THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings for 1874-5.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, second series, Vol. IV., No. 3.

VEREIN FÜR KUNST UND ALTERTHUM IN ULM UND OBERSCHWABEN.—The Journal, Nos, 1 and 2 for 1876.

LA SOCIÉTÉ AMÉRICAINE DE FRANCE.—Le Journal des orientalistes, 5 Fevrier, 1876.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—The annual Reports for 1873 and 1874.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—An account of the Association; forty pamphlets; and twenty files of newspapers.

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their Record as issued.

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY, of Chicago.—Their "Printing Press," Vol. 1, No. 4.

THE PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.—Their forty-fourth annual Report.

THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.—The eighth annual Report.

THE MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their Proceedings, August, 1875, to March, 1876.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.—Twenty-five numbers of religious periodicals.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions for 1875, part II.; and Schedule of Prizes for 1876.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-two files of newspapers.

WORCESTER BOARD OF TRADE.—Twenty files of newspapers.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Four books; and thirty-three pamphlets.

THE VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.—Five volumes of Vermont State Documents.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO.—Their twenty-third annual Report; and Catalogue of books added to the Library from February, 1874, to September 1, 1875.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—The annual Report for the year 1875; and the Catalogue of books added to the Library during the year 1872.

THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—The Fortieth annual Report; and One pamphlet.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Their Bulletin as issued.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The list of books added from July 1, 1875, to January 1, 1876.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY.—The twenty-seventh annual Report.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The seventh annual Report; two hundred and fifty pamphlets; and sixty-five files of newspapers.

- THE NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The twenty-fourth annual Report.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.**—The seventy-fourth annual Catalogue.
- HARVARD COLLEGE.**—The annual Reports of the President and Treasurer for 1874-75.
- YALE COLLEGE.**—The Catalogue for 1875-76.
- THE UNITED STATES ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.**—Four volumes of Reports for the year 1875.
- THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.**—Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 2 volumes.
- THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.**—The Report of the Commissioner for the year 1874.
- THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.**—Public Documents of the State for 1874, five volumes; Acts and Resolves of 1875; and the reprint of the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. 2, 1713-1741.
- THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.**—New Hampshire Provincial Papers, volumes 5, 6 and 7.
- THE CITY OF BOSTON.**—City Documents for 1875, in three volumes; and the Bunker Hill Memorial, 1875.
- THE CITY OF MANCHESTER, ENG.**—The twenty-third annual report on the working of the Public Free Libraries.
- THE TOWN OF BARRE, MASSACHUSETTS.**—A Memorial of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Barre, June 17, 1874.
- THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.**—The New York Evening Post; and the Commercial Bulletin, in continuation.
- THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester.**—The New York Evening Post, in continuation.
- THE EDITOR OF "LA CONVERSAZIONE,"** Bologna, Italy.—His Review as issued.
- THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.**—Their Journal as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MUSICAL REVIEW.**—Their Review as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.**—Their Journal as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NATION.**—Their paper as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY.**—Their papers as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.**—Their papers as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS.—His paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM.—His paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE.—His paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL.—Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE AYER PUBLIC SPIRIT.—His paper as issued.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report for the six months ending April 22, 1876.

The Laboratory and General Fund, Oct. 30, 1875, was \$31,577.27

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 1,971.95

\$33,549.22

Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . . 1,192.01

Present amount of the Fund, **\$31,657.21**

The Collection and Research Fund, Oct. 20, 1875, was \$15,804.52

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 519.20

\$16,323.72

Paid for part of Librarian's salary and incidentals, 318.86

Present amount of the Fund **\$16,004.86**

The Book Fund, Oct. 20, 1875, was \$9,001.68

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 229.30

9,230.98

Paid for printing part of Assistant Librarian's salary, 564.16

Present amount of the Fund **\$8,666.82**

The Printing Fund, October 20, 1875, was \$8,833.77

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 283.30

from sale of publications, 285.25

9,427.32

Paid for printing semi-annual Report and balance due on publication of The History of Printing, 1,210.32

Present amount of the Fund, **\$8,217.00**

The Salisbury Buhling Fund, October 20, 1875, was \$12,613.83

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 378.32

Present amount of the Fund, **\$12,992.14**

<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , October 20, 1875, was . . .	\$1,057.30	
Received for dividends and interest since, .	30.39	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,087.69	
Paid for books,	6 40	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		\$1,081.29
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , October 20, 1875, was .	\$1,347.78	
Received for interest, etc., since,	38.21	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,385.99	
Paid S. F. Haven, by vote of the Council, .	100.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		\$1,285.99
		<hr/>
Total of the seven Funds,		\$79,905.31
There is a balance from the gift of Hon. Benj. F. Thomas, for the purchase of Local Histories, of		69.32
		<hr/>
		\$79,974.63
		<hr/>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement, .		\$304.63
		<hr/>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in —

Bank Stock,	\$14,500.00	
Railroad Stock,	5,300.00	
Railroad Bonds,	11,200.00	
County Bond,	500.00	
U. S. Bond,	100.00	
Cash,	57.21	
	<hr/>	\$31,657.21

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in —

Bank Stock,	\$4,400.00	
Railroad Stock,	2,300.00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00	
Cash,	4.86	
	<hr/>	\$16,004.86

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in —

Bank Stock,	\$5,600.00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00	
Cash,	66.82	
	<hr/>	8,666.82

The Publishing Fund is invested in —

Railroad Stock,	\$200.00	
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	17.00	
		<hr/>
		\$8,217.00

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in —

Bank Stock,	\$1,800.00	
Railroad Stock,	800.00	
Railroad Bonds,	1,870.00	
City Bonds,	6,500.00	
Cash,	22.14	
		<hr/>
		\$12,992.14

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in —

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
Railroad Stock,	400.00	
City Bonds,	500.00	
U. S. Bond,	50.00	
Cash,	31.29	
		<hr/>
		\$1,081.29

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in —

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Bank Stock,	200.00	
U. S. Bond,	50.00	
Cash,	35.99	
		<hr/>
		\$1,285.99

Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/>	<hr/>	\$79,905.31
-------------------------------------	-------	-------	-------------

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 22, 1876.

We have examined the above account, and find it to be correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
EBENEZER TORREY,	

WORCESTER, April 25, 1876.

HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON THE

LAWS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

BY ALBERT H. HOYT.

THE history of the origin and development of the Laws of New Hampshire deserves and could not fail to reward the most thorough investigation. Moreover, if the history of that State for the first eighty years is ever to be intelligently studied and correctly written such an investigation will be pre-requisite. For the purpose of calling fresh attention to this subject, and in the hope that some one may be led to undertake this work, the following Historical and Bibliographical Notes are submitted as a slight contribution to the end above proposed.

The early history of New Hampshire is still to a great degree involved in confusion and obscurity. The causes of this are obvious. Enough, however, of that history is known to enable us to take in its general outlines.

The colonization of the country of the "Pascataway," or Piscataqua, a part of which was afterward included in the larger territory known as New Hampshire, was a private commercial enterprise. There is no evidence that the patentees or grantees designed to provide an asylum for a discontented, disaffected, or persecuted people, or for such as felt themselves to be persecuted, or for any who were obnoxious to the laws of the realm. Nor is there the slightest evidence that at the outset of the enterprise its promoters even so much as dreamed of founding a self-governing State, or a community in any essential degree

independent of the imperial sovereignty. They were loyal to the Church of England and to the King.

But as no scheme of this kind could be expected to succeed without local superintendents, so we find that this colony on the Piscataqua had its "governors,"—agents of the chief adventurers, and overseers of their interests. The first settlers, mostly servants in the employ of the grantees, were ruled by these overseers; under the instruction of their principals. All owed allegiance to and were governed by the laws of England.

As the population increased, and local causes began to operate, a more efficient government, involving a larger representation of interests, became both convenient and necessary. This necessity was the more pressing after Portsmouth and Dover became distinct centres of population.

In the absence of records, or other authentic evidence, it is impossible at present to fix the exact time when these two communities set up government for themselves, but it was at an earlier period, most likely, than has generally been assigned.

It is stated by some writers that the inhabitants of Portsmouth instituted a local government soon after the departure of Captain Walter Neale, Mr. Mason's steward, in 1633. By the word "inhabitants" they can mean only such of the settlers as had an interest in the soil, or were possessed of other considerable property. Reference is made in the Court Records to a certain "combination," or written plan of government, as early as 1643; but the first act of the people of Portsmouth, of which we have any record, that looks like a proceeding under a "combination," bears date May 25, 1640.*

The settlers of Exeter, a community entirely distinct from those just mentioned, formed themselves into a body politic† on the 4th of July, 1639. Their example was followed by Dover on the 22d of October in the same year.‡ Whether their action was preceded or followed by that of Portsmouth is as yet uncertain.

* See, however, the letter of the Rev. George Burdett to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of 29 Nov., 1638, in "Transcript of Original Documents relating to the Early History of New Hampshire," edited by John Scribner Jenness, New York, 1876.

† A fac-simile of the Exeter "Combination" is given in the "Wentworth Genealogy."

‡ For the Dover "Combination" entire, see Jenness's "Transcript of Orig. Documents," p. 36.

Hampton, which was claimed by Massachusetts Bay to be within its charter limits, accepted from that colony the rights and powers of a township in 1639.*

At this period the entire population of these districts did not much exceed, if it equalled, one thousand souls; and this number included all the people of whom we have any knowledge as then living or settled within what is now called New Hampshire. These people, like the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, belonged to the great middle class of Englishmen.

There is no evidence that prior to 1641, either Portsmouth or Dover had adopted a formal code of laws. Still, it is not to be inferred that these communities were lawless, or destitute of some kind of regulations for the conduct of their public affairs. They certainly had the laws and customs of England which they brought with them.

The settlers of Exeter, composed mainly of exiles from Massachusetts, did establish a body of laws, which, though in some respects repugnant to the laws of England, were, upon the whole, creditable to the intelligence and liberality of the man who framed them.†

In 1641, Portsmouth and Dover were brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay, the way thereto having been prepared by the friends and agents of that colony. Exeter, after the departure of Mr. Wheelwright, submitted two years later.‡

This extension of jurisdiction lasted until New Hampshire was erected into a royal Province, with a separate government, consisting of a President and Council and a House of Representatives. During this period of nearly forty years the people, though nominally subject to the laws of Massachusetts Bay, were really and in the main governed by their own local laws and magistrates.

The commission of President Cutt and his Council passed the great seals on the 18th of September, 1679, was delivered to him in person by Edward Randolph on the 30th of December, pub-

* Mass. Col. Records, I., 259.

† New Hamp. His. Soc. Coll., vi., 192.

‡ Ibid, (Centennial Address of the Hon. Jeremiah Smith). Winthrop II., 28, 38, 42, (1st ed.)

lished by the President, against the earnest opposition of two or three persons named therein as Councillors, early in January, 1678, and on the 21st of that month the new government went into operation.

Power was given to establish Courts, raise money for certain purposes by taxation and excise, and to raise, equip, and command a body of Militia. Instructions were also given to call an Assembly of the people, by delegates, who were authorized to make laws suitable to the wants of the people, but not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of England.

A General Assembly convened in Portsmouth March 16, 1678, and at this and subsequent sessions in that year framed and published a code of laws. This code comprised sixteen "capital," twenty-seven "criminal," and forty five "general" laws. The following eleven crimes were made punishable with death, viz: Idolatry, blasphemy, treason, wilful murder, manslaughter, murder, witchcraft, bestiality, buggery, false witness ("of purpose to take away a man's life"), and cursing of parents (by a son). The punishment of death, or "other grievous punishment," was affixed to six crimes, viz: public rebellion, manstealing, rebellion (by a son) against parents, rape, wilful burning of a house, barn, ship or bark, and burglary (on the third conviction).

Although the President and Council had received from the King a copy* of the Statutes of England, "copiously and accurately done," for their instruction and guidance, they do not seem to have had that "special regard" for it which they claimed in their Address to the King, under date of 11 June, 1680.†

It has been stated by different writers, and is generally believed, that this code was borrowed from the laws of Massachusetts Bay. This is an error; for, in fact, the entire criminal code, with the exception of a few sections and some slight verbal differences, were taken from the laws of the "Colony of New Plimouth."

By comparing the "Lawes and Libertyes" of Massachusetts, of 1641, 1660, and 1672, with this New Hampshire code, it will be seen that the latter makes a juster discrimination in the

* One volume then comprised all the laws of England!—Whitelocke on Parliamentary Writ.

† This and their previous Address, of 29 March, it is probable, were the work of that astute politician, the Rev. Joshua Moody.

definition and classification of crimes and in the punishments prescribed. For instance: in the Massachusetts code adultery is punishable with death; in the New Hampshire, with whipping. In the former, public rebellion also is punishable with death; in the latter, with death, or "some other grievous punishment," in the discretion of the Court. The law against blasphemy, in the New Hampshire code, contains the important qualifying words, — "any person professing the true God;" and in the law against witchcraft, the qualifying words are, — "if any Christian, so called, be a witch," etc.

Courts of law, even in modern times, have found it to be almost an insoluble question as to what constitutes drunkenness. The law-makers of New Hampshire, copying from their brethren of New Plymouth, adopted the following comprehensive and simple definition, viz. : —

"By drunkenness is to be understood one y^t lisps or falters in his speech by reason of overmuch drinke, or y^t staggers in his going, or y^t vomits by reason of excessive drinking, or y^t cannot, by reason thereof, follow his calling."

At this time, New Hampshire, like her neighbors, had neither newspapers nor newspaper reporters, but like them she had an excessive supply of mongers of false news, and retailers of malicious gossip. Her law, adopted in 1680 and kept upon the statute-book many years, but unfortunately now repealed, reads as follows : —

"That w^t p^rson soever, being 16 yeares of age, or upward, shall wittingly or willingly make or publish any lie w^{ch} may be tending to y^e damage or hurt of any p^ticular p^rson, or wth intent to deceive and abuse y^e people with false news or reports, shall be fined for every such default 10s., and if y^e p^tie cannot, or will not, pay y^e fine, then he shall sit in y^e stocks as long as y^e Court shall thinke meete; and if the offenders shall come to any one of Councill and own his offence, it shall be in y^e power of any one of y^e Councill afore^d to execute y^e law upon him where he liveth, and spare his appearance at y^e Court; but in case when y^e lie is greatly pⁿicious to y^e Comon Weale, it shall be more severely punished, according to y^e nature of it."

But even this severe and elastic law failed to effect a cure; and so twenty-two years afterward, in the 13th year of the reign of William III., the punishment was made more severe, and the lowest limit of the age of accountability was fixed at 14 instead of 16 years.

According to instructions, this code was transmitted to England, and, as we are informed by Chalmers, was totally disallowed in

December, 1681. That part of it which relates to crimes was first printed in 1831,* and the whole code was first printed in 1866.†

President Cutt, an "ancient and infirm man" when he was commissioned, who by reason of growing feebleness had taken but little part in the government, died on the 27th of March, 1682, and was succeeded by the Deputy, Richard Walderne, an energetic man and a zealous friend of Massachusetts. He was superseded by Edward Cranfield, whose commission as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief passed the seals May 9, 1682. By other commissions, from the Duke of York, bearing date 29 June, 1682, he was made Vice-Admiral, Judge, Register, and Marshal of the Admiralty for the Province, with power of appointing substitutes or deputies in said offices. By these commissions and his instructions, much greater powers were conferred upon Cranfield than had been granted to his predecessor.

Governor Cranfield landed in Salem October 1, 1682; proceeded to Portsmouth on the 3d, and on the next day took the oaths of office and published his commissions. On the 4th of November a General Assembly convened in Portsmouth, and adopted a new body of laws, twenty-five in number. These were first printed in 1866.‡ This code reduced the number of capital crimes, and, in several particulars, the punishments for offences of an inferior grade were made less severe. In several other respects it appears that the Assembly had profited by the fate of their previous attempt at law-making.

If it be true, as has been claimed by more than one philosophical writer, that the character of the criminal laws of a nation or community afford a true indication of their prosperity, intelligence and morality, the New England colonies, at this period of their history, will not suffer in comparison with the most enlightened nations of Europe of that day.

By the laws of Massachusetts, adopted in 1641, twelve crimes were declared to be capital, and, although this class of crimes was largely increased by subsequent enactments, yet early in the

* Farmer's Belknap (Appendix), 453-455.

† N. H. His. Soc. Coll., VIII., 9-35. Prov. Papers of N. H., I., 382-408 (pub. in 1867).

‡ N. H. His. Soc. Coll., VIII., 90-96.

last century we discover a continual tendency toward an amelioration of the penal code, and to a more rational distinction in the grades and punishments of offences of all kinds.

The New Plymouth Colony code of 1671, printed in 1672, and the same code as it stood in 1685, made thirteen crimes absolutely, and four more conditionally, punishable with death.

As we have seen, the New Hampshire code of 1680 enumerates eleven crimes for which the only punishment was death, and that the number of capital offences was reduced under Cranfield's administration. In 1718, the number was seven, and two more on second conviction for two other crimes. Since the Act of 19 June, 1812, the highest punishment, death, is confined to treason and murder.

In England, prior to the Commonwealth, the number of capital crimes, as fixed by statute, and as known to the common law was, it is said, not less than one hundred and fifty. This number was largely increased after the Restoration. In the 160 years between that event and the death of George III., 187 crimes more were added. By successive Acts, between 1824 and 1861, the number has been reduced to treason and murder.

To William Penn, however, belongs the praise that in his well-conceived and well-expressed code of 1682, he recognized only two capital crimes, — murder and treason; and in this, as in many other things, that wise man was nearly two hundred years in advance of the most enlightened communities.

There is one feature of both the Cutt and Cranfield commissions deserving of special reference. It is that article which recites, in unambiguous terms, the guaranty of religious liberty. "We do hereby require and command that liberty of conscience shall be allowed unto all Protestants." That is, the same liberty and no more, which was allowed at that time to Protestant dissenters in England. But, assuming that the persons addressed knew that the Church of England was, by law, the Church of the King's Province, lest they should draw unauthorized conclusions from this concession, the king reminds them "that such especially as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England shall be particularly countenanced and encouraged." *

* Compare this with the provisions for the support of the Church, contained in Captain John Mason's Will (1635).

The Rev. Mr. Moodey, the only minister in Portsmouth during the administrations of Cutt and Cranfield, refused to baptize the children of some of his parishioners according to the ceremony of the English Church, though often and earnestly requested. "Liberty of conscience" seems to have been interpreted by him to mean intolerance of any conscience but his own.

Governor Cranfield having obtained leave of absence, quitted the Province on or about the 15th of May, 1683, and was succeeded by his Deputy, Dr. Walter Baretoote. The last-named was superseded, May 25, 1686, by Joseph Dudley, commissioned President of New England (including Massachusetts Bay, Maine, New Hampshire, and the Narragansett or King's Province). Under these two brief administrations but little alteration was made in the statute law of New Hampshire.

Under Governor Andros, whose administration lasted from December 18, 1686, to the 18th of April, 1689, numerous laws, ordinances, and orders were made by the Governor and his Council, but these were chiefly general in their operation. Such of these as have been preserved * are drawn with skill; not a few of them proved beneficial, and some of them were permanently incorporated into the statute laws of the colonies.

During the administrations of Lieutenant-Governors Usher and Partridge, of Governors Allen and the Earl of Bellomont, — that is, between 1692 and 1702, — numerous laws were enacted. The record of fifty-eight of these has been preserved, from which it appears that two of them were disallowed by the King in Council.

The General Assembly began to print the session laws as early as 1704; * but it was not till May 15, 1714, that any steps were taken to have the statute laws revised and codified. In December, 1715, a committee consisting of Col. Richard Gerrish, Joseph Smith, Theodore Atkinson, John Plaisted, Thomas Plupps, and Mark Hunking, Esquires, was appointed to "supervise the laws, and collect them into a body to be printed." The committee had completed their labor by the 6th of February, 1718, and prior to the 5th of April Samuel Penhallow, Treasurer of the Province, had "discoursed the printer," Benjamin Green, of Boston. The title

* Col. Records of Conn. (1679-89), 402-436.

of this, the first printed collection of the laws of the Province, is as follows : —

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the | General Court | or |
Assembly | Of His Majesties | Province | of | New-Hampshire |
in | New-England. | G [Royal Seal] R | Boston, in New-
England : | Printed by B. Green : Sold by Eleazar Russel | at
his Shop in Portsmouth. 1716. |

This volume, known as Russell's edition, covers 60 folio pages, besides the title-page. In 1718, there were added 72 pages of laws, and a table of contents, 4 pages ; in 1719, the laws passed May 2, of that year, 24 pages ; in 1722, the laws passed in 1721, being 7 pages, and a table of contents, 8 pages, covering all the laws printed up to that date ; and in 1726, the laws passed in 1722, '24, '25, being 8 pages, or a total of 124 pages printed subsequently to 1716. By an error of the printer, the pagination of folios 157-163 is repeated. The whole number of pages in the few copies of this volume still extant is 184.

Among the laws enacted in 1718 was one that authorized the Judge of Probate, for the Province, to license executors and administrators to sell so much of the realty as was necessary to pay the debts and legacies. By this great step forward New Hampshire anticipated the action of Massachusetts, in this matter, nearly one hundred years.

During the next fifty years frequent attempts were made to obtain a revision of the laws, but nothing was accomplished till 1761. In that year Meshech Weare, — a name soon afterward most honorably connected with the legislative, judicial, and administrative history of the Province and of the State, — was a member of the committee on the laws. This committee reported a revised draft in print. It does not appear that the report was accepted, or acted upon in any particular ; and it is reasonable to suppose that this revision did not meet the demands of the Assembly. A few copies of this report have been preserved. The title reads as follows : —

Acts | and | Laws | of | His Majesty's Province | of | New-
Hampshire, | in New-England. | With Sundry Acts of Parlia-
ment. | By order of the Governor, | Council and Assembly, |

Pass'd October 16th, 1759. | Portsmouth, Printed by Daniel Fowle. | 1761. |

This, known as Fowle's first edition, contains 236 pages of laws, which, with the title-page and table of contents, make a total of 250 pages folio. Bound up and paged consecutively with the foregoing, some copies of this edition have the laws "publish'd the 27th of June, 1765," 4 pages; and 8 pages of laws "past the 15th of June, 1765," "printed by Daniel and Robert Fowle, 1766," with a collection of "Temporary Laws," covering fifty pages (numbered from 1 to 50, inclusive), printed by the Fowles, in 1768.

This edition not being deemed authentic, efforts were made to induce the Assembly to order a fresh revision: but these efforts were unsuccessful until 1770. On the 24th of March of that year, William Parker, Samuel Livermore, Peter Livius, and George Jaffrey, Esquires, were appointed a committee "to collect and print one hundred and fifty setts of all the Acts and Laws of the Province" then in force. This, known as Fowle's second edition, bears the following title: —

Acts and Laws | of | His Majesty's Province | of | New-Hampshire | In | New-England. | With Sundry Acts of Parliament. | *By Order of the General Assembly.* | To which is prefix'd the | Commissions | of | President John Cutts, Esq.; | And His Excellency | John Wentworth, Esq.; | Portsmouth, Printed by Daniel and Robert Fowle, | And Sold at their Office near the State- House. | 1771. |

This, also, is a folio. It contains 150 Perpetual Laws, 15 Acts of Parliament, or 272 pages; and 26 Temporary Laws, paged from 1 to 51, inclusive; which, with title page, commissions (19 pages), and table of contents (1), make a total of 344 pages. Bound up with the foregoing, some copies have the laws enacted December 16, 1771, and May 28, 1773, and a few of a still earlier date, all paged consecutively with the edition of 1771. In some copies there will also be found, inserted after page 51 of the Temporary Laws, laws of that class passed between December 23, 1771, and February 12, 1774, making 286 pages of Perpetual, and 72 of Temporary Laws.

Russell's edition of 1716 contains all the laws in Fowle's edition

of 1771, as far as page 165, inclusive; and the latter contains all that are embraced in the former, except seven. Both the editions of 1716 and 1761 contain the law against high treason, passed in the 13th of Anne; but it is significant of the changed temper of the people, or of the Assembly, that the edition of 1771 has no law on that subject. In 1777, the Assembly enacted a stringent law; but, of course, the crime there specified was not "treason to the Crown."

Pursuant to the favorable response of the Continental Congress, made November 3, 1775, to the suggestion of the New Hampshire Assembly, a Provincial Congress met in Exeter, and on the 21st of December adopted a plan * of temporary government for the "Colony" of New Hampshire. This plan was promulgated on the 5th of January, 1776, and thus New Hampshire has the distinction of being the first colony or province to adopt a constitution after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.†

In the preamble to this constitution the Congress declared, —

"That we never sought to throw off our Dependence upon Great Britain, but felt Ourselves happy under her Protection, while we could enjoy our Constitutional Rights and Privileges. And that we shall rejoice if such a Reconciliation between us and our Parent State can be effected as shall be approved by the Continental Congress."

In the spirit of this declaration the Assembly refused to make any changes in the statute laws, further than the exigencies of the situation required.

Soon after this, doubts having arisen whether their assumption of government, and adoption of the Declaration of Independence, did not operate to vacate the laws in force prior to 1776, the Provincial Congress, on the 9th of April, 1777, passed an Act to re-establish the general system of laws previously in force, except such as were repugnant to, or incompatible with, the new government, or the laws enacted to carry it into effect.

In 1779 it was ordered that the laws which had been enacted by the provisional government should be printed. Accordingly, a volume containing nearly all the laws passed between March

* Laws of New Hampshire, printed in 1780; Farmer and Moore's *His. Col.*, I., 269-272.

† This temporary government lasted from January 5, 1776, to June 10, 1784.

21, 1776, and April 29, 1780, was issued from the press of Zachariah Fowle, of Exeter, under the oversight of Noah Emery, Esquire, clerk of the House of Representatives. This volume contains 235 pages of laws, which, with the title-page, table of contents (4), and the new "Form of Government" (4), makes a total of 245 pages folio. The title is as follows:—

Acts | and | Laws | of the | State * | of | New Hampshire, |
in | America. | By Order of the General Assembly. | To which
is prefixed, the | Resolution of the *American* Congress, | For
Establishing a Form of Government | in New Hampshire; | And
the | Resolve of the *Provincial* Congress, | For taking up Gov-
ernment in Forms. | With the | Declaration | of | Independ-
ence. | America: | Printed at Exeter, in the State of | New-
Hampshire. | M.DCC.LXXX. |

On the 26th of February, 1778, the Assembly voted to call a State convention for the purpose of forming a permanent government. This convention met in Concord on the 10th of June. At a subsequent session, held June 5, 1779, a constitution was agreed upon and submitted to the people, by whom it was rejected. At another convention, held on the first Tuesday of June, 1781, the previous draft was amended, and this was sent to the people, and by them rejected. A third and successful attempt was made in 1783. This constitution went into effect June 10, 1784; and, with the exception of some slight alteration, in 1791 and in 1850, it has remained to this day a monument of the practical good sense of the people of New Hampshire in 1784.

On the 12th of June, 1784, the Hon Samuel Livermore, chief-justice, Josiah Bartlett, and John Sullivan, Esquires, were appointed a committee to revise the laws. On the 30th of January, 1789, an order was adopted to print all the laws passed subsequently to July, 1776, and John Pickering and Daniel Humphreys, Esquires, were designated to supervise the press, and determine "how many, and what laws should be printed." This collection was printed and issued early in 1789, with the following title. —

The | Perpetual Laws | of the | *State of New Hampshire*, |
from the | Session of the General Court, July, 1776, | to the |

* This style was adopted 11 September, 1776.

Session in December, 1788, | continued into the present year,
1789, | Compiled and Arranged to the Wishes of | the Gentlemen
of the Law, and under | the Direction of the General Court. |
Printed from attested copies of the original Acts. | Misera
Servitus est, ubi jus est vagum aut *Incognitum.* | Portsmouth:
New-Hampshire, printed by John | Melcher, M,DCC,LXXXIX. |

This revision, known among the old lawyers as the “Horn-
book,” — so called, it is said, from the hardness of the cover, — is
a volume of 256 pages octavo.

Prior to the 3d of February, 1789, the law regulating the dis-
tribution of intestate estates had followed the Mosaic law in giv-
ing a double share to the eldest son. By the revised law, enacted
on that day, it was provided that the inheritance shall descend in
equal shares among the children, and the legal representatives of
such as are dead; and in case of failure of children, shall descend
equally among the next of kin, in equal degree, and those who
represent them. In June following, the General Court of Massa-
chusetts passed a similar law.

In January, 1790, Jeremiah Smith, Nathaniel Peabody, and
John Samuel Sherburne, Esquires, were appointed a committee
to collect and revise the laws. Their report was adopted in Feb-
ruary, 1791, again revised and amended in January, 1792, and
ordered to be printed. In the following June an order was
adopted suspending the revised laws till September 15, 1792, with
the exception of a few which were suspended till February 1,
1793. On the 20th of June, 1792, an Act was passed which re-
pealed nearly all the statutes enacted prior to the adoption of this
revised code. This edition, of 1792, was the basis of the Statute
Law of New Hampshire, down to the year 1842. This is an oc-
tavo volume of 396 pages, the title of which is as follows: —

The | Laws | of the | State of New-Hampshire, | together with
the Declaration of Independence: | the | Definitive Treaty of
Peace | between the | United States of America | and His |
Britannic Majesty: | the Constitution of New-Hampshire, | and |
the Constitution of the United States, | with its Proposed Amend-
ments. | * * * | Portsmouth: Printed by John Melcher. |
1792. |

A new edition, comprising all the laws then in force, was published in 1797, under the supervision of Nathaniel Adams, Esquire, author of the "Annals of Portsmouth." This an octavo of 492 pages, with the following title:—

The | Laws | of the | State of New-Hampshire, | the | Constitution | of the | State of *New Hampshire*, | and the | Constitution of the United States, | with its Proposed Amendments. | Printed by Order of the Honorable the General-Court. | *State of New Hampshire* : | Portsmouth : | Printed by John Melcher, | Printer to the State. | 1797. |

The next edition, published in 1805, comprised all the laws then in force, with an Appendix containing sundry repealed statutes, and the census of 1790 and 1800. This is a volume of 531 pages octavo. It was compiled, arranged, and indexed by Jeremiah Smith, Esquire, and printed in Dover by Samuel Bragg, Jr.

In 1815 a still more complete edition was published under the supervision of Jeremiah Smith, then chief-justice, John P. Hale, and Moses Hodgden, Esquires, who were selected by a committee of the legislature, of which the Hon. George Sullivan was chairman. This volume contains a large portion of the repealed statutes, with valuable notes by Judge Smith, and abstracts of the census of the State for 1790, 1800, and 1810. It was printed in Exeter by Charles Norris & Co., and is an octavo of 668 pages.

Under the authority of the Legislature, Judge Smith began in 1815 to publish the session laws, commencing with that year, and such of the repealed statutes as he judged necessary to be known. In 1821, all the laws passed between the June session of 1815 and the June session of 1821, inclusive, and abstracts of the State census of 1790, 1800, 1810, and 1820, were bound into one volume, with a title page which purports to have been printed by Norris & Co., aforesaid, in Exeter, in 1815. This volume is numbered II. in the title, the Revised Statutes of 1815 being reckoned number I., as it would appear.

In 1822, the Probate Laws were revised, under Legislative authority, by the Hon. Charles H. Atherton, John Harris, and James Bartlett, Esquires. Revisions of other portions of the statutes were made in 1827, 1828, and 1829, under authority, by

Chief-Justice William A. Richardson, John Porter and Samuel D. Bell, Esquires. These revised laws, together with the unrevised (excepting one) were included in the volume published in 1830, by Isaac Long, Jr., in Hopkinton, but printed in Concord by Luther Roby. This is an octavo of vii. and 623 pages.

In 1840, Chief-Justice Joel Parker, Samuel D. Bell, and Charles J. Fox, Esquires, were appointed commissioners to revise, amend, and codify the statute laws. The Chief-Justice did not act. The other commissioners made their report to the Legislature in June, 1842. This was ordered to be printed, and further consideration of the report was deferred to the November session. At that session, after amendment, the report was adopted on the 23d of December. This revision was printed in Concord, by Carroll & Baker, in 1842, and is a volume of xv. and 555 pages octavo.

By authority of the Legislature, conferred in 1852, Ralph Metcalf, Calvin Ainsworth, and Samuel H. Ayer, Esquires, compiled the existing laws under appropriate heads in chapters. They made a partial report in 1852, and a full report in 1853. This is a volume of xvi. and 760 octavo pages. It was printed in 1853, in Concord, by Butterfield & Hill, State printers.

In August, 1865, the Hons. Samuel D. Bell, Asa Fowler, and George Y. Sawyer, were appointed commissioners to revise, amend and codify the statute laws. They were also instructed to supply appropriate marginal notes and citations of adjudicated cases. Their report, after having been amended by a Committee of the Legislature, was adopted in 1867, and makes a volume of xvi. and 676 octavo pages, which was printed in Manchester in 1867, by John B. Clarke, State printer.

By this last revision and codification, which is said to be satisfactory in most respects, there was accomplished in New Hampshire, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years from the institution of a lawful and general government, that which a wise and learned statesman, writing about two centuries ago, declared to be a "work worthy of a parliament, and cannot be done otherwise,—to cause a review of all our statutes, to repeal such as they shall judge inconvenient to remain in force; to confirm those which they shall think fit to stand, and those several statutes which are confused, some repugnant to others, many touching the same matters, to be

reduced into certainty, all of one subject into one statute, that perspicuity and clearness may appear in written laws."

Besides the State Constitution, the statutes enacted by the Legislature, and the common law of the State, the people of New Hampshire are subject to the Constitution of the United States, to all treaties made under the authority of the same, and to the laws of Congress.

The Common law of England and the statutes of Parliament in amendment of it, so far as they were applicable to the circumstances of the country, were in force in New Hampshire from the first settlement. And, because it was a Royal Province, from that time down to the actual acknowledgment of American Independence neither the people by popular vote, nor royal governors or presidents, nor public assemblies, nor any usurping power could lawfully do any act that might operate in any degree as an abridgment or suspension or extinction of the sovereignty of the Crown; nor during any moment was that sovereignty ceded or withdrawn.

No. 67.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1876.



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
CENTRAL EXCHANGE
1876



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1876



WORCESTER
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON
CENTRAL EXCHANGE
1876



C O N T E N T S .

	PAGE.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	5
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	13
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	39
DONORS AND DONATIONS	63
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	73

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21st, 1876, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

Hon. EMORY WASHBURN read the report of the Council.

Mr. HAVEN, the Librarian, and Mr. PAINE, the Treasurer, read their annual reports, which, together with that of Mr. WASHBURN, were, on motion of Rev. Dr. ELLIS, adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The Recording Secretary reported from the Council the names of the following gentlemen as candidates for membership of the Society :

Prof. FRANCIS A. WALKER, of New Haven, Conn.; Dr. J. R. FARQUHARSON, of Davenport, Iowa; Dr. C. HERMANN BERENDT, of Merida, Yucatan; Hon. ALPHONSO TAFT, of Cincinnati, Ohio; and they were, by ballot, unanimously elected.

Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS and GEORGE DEXTER, Esq., were appointed to receive the ballots for President of the Society for the ensuing year. They reported that the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., was unanimously elected, and he accepted the office.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, and Maj. BEN: PERLEY POORE, were appointed a committee to nominate the other officers of the Society. They made the following report, and the gentlemen therein named were, by ballot, unanimously elected :

Vice Presidents :

HON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMAS, LL.D., Boston,
JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York.

Council :

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester.
SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester.
REV. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., Worcester.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge.
REV. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester.
HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D., Charlestown.
HON. HENRY CHAPIN, LL.D., Worcester.
SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., Esq., Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., Hartford.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester.

Rev. E. E. HALE, Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge.

Auditors :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester.

Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, Fitchburg.

On motion of Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, it was voted, that in the opinion of the Society it is desirable that the building be enlarged, as proposed in the Report of the Council, and that that portion of the Report be referred to the Council with authority to act.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., of Boston, presented the following paper :

The year which is now closing has not only included numerous centennial anniversaries of events in our revolutionary period, but it has also included the bi-centennial anniversaries of many of the most important incidents in Philip's War. And, I think, it cannot have escaped the notice of members of this Society that many of these bi-centennial anniversaries have been celebrated on the wrong day. In attempting to change old style into new style the local historians and committees of arrangements have been apparently as much bewildered as Milton's fallen angels arguing of

“ Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute ”;

and some seem to have retreated in despair at the dark problem.

Last year the bi-centenary of the battle of Bloody Brook was celebrated on the 17th of September: the battle was fought on the 18th of September, 1675, old style, which corresponds with the 28th of September, new style. Medfield was burnt by the Indians February 21st, 1675-6, and its bi-centennial was celebrated on the 21st of last February, which the orator of the day said corresponded with February 21st, 1675, old style. The proper date for the celebration would have been March 2d. The

fight at Sudbury occurred either on the 18th or the 21st of April, old style, the weight of authority being in favor of the latter date, but the local celebration took place on the 18th of April: it should have been either April 28th or May 1st. But the most curious blunder was committed by the gentlemen of the Rhode Island Historical Society, who commemorated the death of Philip (August 12, 1676) on the 24th of August, under the mistaken notion that August 24th, new style, corresponds with August 12th, 1676, old style. From the eleventh volume of the memoirs of John Quincy Adams we learn that he was under a similar error when he wrote his address on the New England Confederacy of 1643. He thought the celebration ought to take place on the 31st of May, instead of May 29th; and a distinguished antiquary, Mr James Savage, labored long and vainly to make him understand that May 29th, new style, is the day which corresponds with May 19th, 1643, old style. Mr. Adams's failure to see this is the more remarkable when we remember how deep an interest he took in astronomical science.

More than a quarter of a century ago a committee of the Pilgrim Society, of which Mr. Savage, Judge Warren, and Dr. Shurtleff, were members, presented a very lucid and admirable report on this subject of the correspondence of old style and new style; and on their recommendation December 21st was adopted as the proper date for commemorating the landing of the Pilgrims. And as we meet here to-day I am reminded that this Society too has rectified an early error, and has adopted October 21st as the true anniversary of the landing of Columbus.

I do not propose that we should now take any action on the errors which I have pointed out. But I may be pardoned for expressing a hope that if any member of this society shall be charged with the duty of delivering a bi-centennial address he will see to it that the right day is selected for the celebration.

A brief discussion followed, in which Rev. Dr. ELLIS, SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., and Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN took part, and on motion of Hon. F. H. DEWEY, the paper was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN called attention to the present

attitude of the Verrazzano controversy, and made a few remarks upon the subject, substantially as follows:—

The time seems not yet to have arrived when this society should attempt to render a judicial decision upon the claims made in behalf of John Verrazzano to the distinction of being the discoverer of a large portion of the North American coast in the year 1524, nor have the arguments on the one side and the other yet been fully submitted. The members of the society will recall the brief discussion of the subject which took place at the meeting in Boston in April last. It may be well to state the present condition of the cause. The general course of belief on the subject for more than three hundred years is well known. Dr. Kohl (in his *History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America*, published in 1869) gives a fair statement of what was the general belief on this subject during that period. The papers published by the late Buckingham Smith were alluded to at the last meeting, in which doubts were thrown over the genuineness of the whole story. Mr. Brevoort's argument in favor of the claim, Mr. Murphy's elaborate presentation of the opposite view, and Mr. DeCosta's "Plea for stay of judgment," were brought to the notice of the society. But the arguments were not yet exhausted. Our distinguished associate, R. H. Major, Esq., of London, has published in the July number of the *London Geographical Magazine* a brief article, in which Mr. Murphy's views of the case are vigorously and somewhat sharply controverted. A contemporaneous and able article appears in the July number of the *American Quarterly Church Review*, also strongly supporting Verrazzano's claim and opposing the views of Mr. Murphy. The final reply of Mr. Murphy to these arguments will be looked for with great interest, and that reply will be almost indispensable to a satisfactory conclusion on the subject. Colonel Washburn added the expression of a hope that Mr. Deane will close the whole case by a judicial decision which, like all his final decisions of historical questions, shall be subject neither to error nor appeal.

THE PRESIDENT, Rev. Dr. ELLIS, and Mr. DEANE, spoke briefly on the same subject; the last named gentleman alluding especially to the maps referred to in the discussion.

3d. These manuals also present a striking contrast in the length and permanency of pastorates in early times as compared with the present. In the early years of the New England churches pastorates of forty, fifty, and sixty years, were not infrequent.

4th. The membership of the churches, as stated in these manuals, reveals the fact that there is a much larger proportion of female members now than formerly.

Several of the manuals collected by Judge ALDRICH contain highly interesting accounts of the planting of churches of the New England type in the Western and Middle States, and of the severe struggles, not to say persecutions, through which many of them passed.

Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester, alluded to the creed of the Church at Plymouth, the first in the country, which has never been changed since the establishment of that church.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

A brief allusion was made by Hon. ISAAC DAVIS to Mr. LOSSING's views with reference to the old mill at Newport, but no discussion followed.

Mr. HAVEN stated that the Society has lately received a large volume containing the original drawings for Bunker Hill Monument. Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D., made some interesting statements on this subject, and in reference to the recent discussion, tending to show that the Monument was designed by the sculptor Greenough. Possibly the original suggestion came from Greenough, and the details were worked out by Willard, or others. The matter was one of historical interest and likely to come more prominently into notice.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, called attention to the collection of Church Manuals mentioned in the report of the Librarian, and said they would form a supplement of considerable value to the large number of town and other local histories, with which the Library of the Society was already furnished :

1st. Many of these manuals contain statements of interesting facts, connected with the early settlement of the New England towns and the organization of churches, not found in more extended histories. They also exhibit striking evidence of the growth and changes of religious beliefs and thought in the churches, and societies with which these churches have been connected.

2d. In the early history of the New England churches the articles of faith and covenants were quite brief, containing only a general statement of the religious opinions of the church. Toward the close of the last century, and the beginning of this, the articles of faith became more elaborate, and entered much more into the details of religious belief.

In many churches organized within the last few years the tendency seems to be to return to the simple form of early times in the statements of the creed or articles of faith.



3d. These manuals also present a striking contrast in the length and permanency of pastorates in early times as compared with the present. In the early years of the New England churches pastorates of forty, fifty, and sixty years, were not infrequent.

4th. The membership of the churches, as stated in these manuals, reveals the fact that there is a much larger proportion of female members now than formerly.

Several of the manuals collected by Judge ALDRICH contain highly interesting accounts of the planting of churches of the New England type in the Western and Middle States, and of the severe struggles, not to say persecutions, through which many of them passed.

Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester, alluded to the creed of the Church at Plymouth, the first in the country, which has never been changed since the establishment of that church.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.



REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN presenting their semi-annual report, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society are reminded that they are living in the Centennial year of our birth as a nation, and that something more may, perhaps, be expected at their hands than the customary passing notice of the events since their last meeting, with which the Society have been immediately associated. It has, indeed, been a century fuller of events of great and lasting interest in the world's history than any that has preceded it, in the birth, revolution and emancipation of nations, in the progress of civilization, in the advance of science, social, political and physical, in the useful arts and in the improvement, in all things, in the condition of the race.

But the work which such a review contemplates has been so ably done by others at commemorative celebrations during the current year, and has been so signally epitomized, as it were, by the unparalleled exposition of what the country has achieved in its arts and its industries, which has been in progress for the last half-year in Philadelphia, that it may be safely left to the record that has already been made, to preserve for posterity the memories of the century of our national life which has just closed. It is moreover a matter of national congratulation that upon a suggestion

emanating from a high source, so many contributions to our local and general history have been made during the present year, by the way of collecting and preserving the events which have rendered this century so illustrious. The centennial anniversary of the declaration of our national independence was also made an occasion for contributions of this character in the more ambitious form of orations, and from these and similar sources that the staple of a complete history of the inner life of the nation is to be supplied, any which has, thus far, been supplied. It is, moreover, that posterity is to know how our country owes of its true greatness and of the success of the revolution in which it engaged, to the democracies into which it was divided, and in pervading public sentiment was kept actively alive, and the people, moved by a common impulse, achieved their independence as one nation.

It we now recur to what has occurred in the history of the Antiquarian Society since its last semi-annual meeting, the incidents have been few, and there is cause to congratulate its members in the general prosperity of its affairs. In the spared lives of their associates they have another cause of gratitude.

The only loss by death of any of these which the Society has to notice since their last meeting, is that of the Rev. William Buel Sprague, D.D., LL.D., of Flushing, N. Y., who died May 7, 1876, at the age of eighty-one years, having been born October 16, 1795. He was born at Andover, Conn., was graduated at Yale, in 1815, and spent the following year as a tutor in a private family in Virginia. He then studied theology in Princeton Theological Seminary,

and in 1819 was settled over the Congregational Church and Society in West Springfield. In 1829 he accepted a call from the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany, and was its pastor for a period of forty years. He resigned the office in 1869, when he was 74 years of age, and soon after removed to Flushing, where he spent the remainder of his days. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Columbia College in 1828, and from Harvard in 1848, and the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton, in 1859. To his eminent qualifications as a learned theologian and popular preacher, he added the genial qualities of an agreeable gentleman, a faithful and acceptable pastor, and a scholar of broad and liberal culture. He had, in addition to these qualities, in a marked degree, all the best characteristics of a first class antiquary. The number of publications which he left may serve to show in how broad a field he devoted the diligent labors of a busy life. His published sermons, addresses and orations were about one hundred and seventy-five. His principal work was the "Annals of the American Pulpit," of which nine volumes have been published, and a tenth is ready for the press. He published, moreover, the lives of Dr. Griffin, Dr. Morse and President Dwight, besides "Letters to a Daughter," "Letters from Europe," "Lectures to Young People," "Lectures on Revivals," and "Contrast between True and False Christianity."

His taste early led him to collect autograph manuscripts, in which he indulged with distinguished success and untiring perseverance, till he had accumulated an immense amount of interesting material. Among these are a portion of Washington's private correspondence, two complete sets of the autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, a complete set, the only one in existence, of the autographs of the Generals of the Revolution commissioned by Congress, all the English Sovereigns from James I., all the French Sovereigns from Louis XIV., together with a great number of those of distinguished men and women of the 18th and 19th centuries. The whole fills four large cases. He was three times married, his first wife being a daughter of Gen. William Eaton, of Brimfield, whose name is honorably associated with our war with the Barbary States, his second and third being daughters of Hon. Samuel Lathrop, of West Springfield.

The foregoing facts in the biography of Dr. Sprague have been principally borrowed from a recent obituary record of the graduates of Yale College. But his name holds an honorable place in the several collections of *American Biography*. Nor have the Council felt at liberty to indulge in anything more than an outline of some of the facts in the biographical sketch of a member of the Society, by which he has made himself honored in life and his memory respected. It is no purpose of these notices to render them the occasion of personal eulogy. But for one who for thirty years had been a member, and, from 1846 to 1853, a Vice-President of the Society, it would be obviously doing injustice to themselves as well as to the memory of one so widely known and respected, to have said less than they have done.

We have spoken of the general prosperity of the Society, the details of which will be found in the accompanying reports of the Treasurer and Librarian. But it may be proper, in this connection, to remind the Society that the time has come when the occasion for availing themselves of

the thoughtful liberality of the President in the donation of land and money for the enlargement of their Library building, seems to be imperatively called for.

Although, for the reasons already stated, it would be ill-timed to attempt to give even an outline of the changes through which our country has been passing during the last century, it seems an apt occasion to recur to the germ of the body politic which in that time has grown and been developed into a mighty nation, strong in everything which makes a free and prosperous people.

The planting of New England has been a favorite theme of orators and historians, till the names and deeds of those who were the actors in it have become a part of our familiar history. We admire their courage, we honor their fidelity to principle and duty, and we wonder at the sad and sombre picture they exhibit of ascetic faith and religious bigotry; and it is only when we have studied into the underlying principles of action upon which these rest, that we begin to understand the true relation there is between the men who founded New England and their opinions, and the character and thrift of an entire nation. They were parts and offshoots of the Puritans of England, and brought with them, in its best form, the spirit of Puritanism which had been struggling at home against the doctrine of arbitrary power in church and state, and they infused this into the social and political life of the colonies, till it vitalized the thoughts and opinions of a new continent, while it reacted upon those of the people of the old. While it taught the equality of men before God and the law, it laid the foundation for that other dogma of a free government, that rulers hold power not by birth and blood, but by the consent of those who are governed.

But in treating of Puritanism, it is its spirit as an element of power with which we have to deal, and not any of its secular phases, except as they illustrate the character of the power. No matter in what form we have to contemplate it, whether before the Court of Star Chamber or the Commission, defying, with undaunted brow the terrors of confiscation and the dungeon for refusing to conform to the exactions of the church, or in the abasement and prayer and confession in the conventicle, or in the deadly charge of battle at Naseby or Worcester, that responsibility to one's own conscience, that vow of obedience to duty, and that courage to face death without faltering, to resist oppression and vindicate the rights of freemen, which signalized Puritanism in whatever phase it was exhibited. Nor are we to stop in our researches for its origin and development at the point in English history, about the middle of the sixteenth century, when it is said to have first received the name by which it became designated. That was but a new and characteristic manifestation of a spirit as old as Alfred, and as underlying as the love of liberty, which had its birth in the old Saxon nature of the English people. It entered into the fundamental constitution of the English common law, and wherever that prevailed it became an active principle in behalf of individual responsibility and personal rights.

There were, for centuries, in the English people two antagonistic principles in the idea of government—absolute prerogative in opposition to the responsibility of rulers to their subjects. The first of these came in with Feudalism, at the conquest, but it found a spirit in the conquered Saxons, which serfdom and slavery could not wholly crush

out. Another element which, at times, stood between them, and at others sought to override them both, was that of religious sentiment, which had been a characteristic of that people as a nation as far back as its history goes. There was a struggle between the Pope and Royalty, each to prevent the ascendancy of the other, while the old Saxon spirit which had been bred and nurtured in the councils of the State, was kept alive among the people till it found an expression, at last, in the words of Magna Charta, no inconsiderable part of which had been borrowed from the laws of Edward the Confessor, and embodied the Saxon notions of liberty and personal right. This was a step onward in the struggle which was taking a more definite form, between the spirit of absolutism and that of personal freedom in thought and action. And the Magna Charta only became the established and unquestioned birthright of Englishmen after it had been renewed and reproclaimed some thirty times, and by successive kings of England. It was this spirit of resistance to absolute power, whether in church or state, united with a strong religious sentiment, which, after struggling with the crowned heads of England from Henry VIII. to Charles I., gained a respite from tyranny and oppression during the days of the Commonwealth, and, at last, gave vitality and shape to the revolution of 1688. It would not be difficult to detect the prevalence of this spirit in every stage of English history. To cherish and give it activity was a part of the mission of Wickliffe with his Bible, as early as the time of Edward III. It withstood the cruel mockery of justice by the Star Chamber and the High Commission, till they were both blotted out by the action of a Puritan Parliament, in the

time of Charles I. It animated and inspired the English Parliaments in their conflict with the prerogative, and withstood the efforts of the crown to override the laws by levying unlawful subsidies, and bringing the government into conformity with the royal will, till the king was at last forced, against his consent, to grant the Petition of Right which was to stand between the subject and the encroachments of despotic power. This Petition of Right, hardly second to Magna Charta itself in importance, was drawn up by Sir Edward Coke of Puritan fame, and was enacted by a Puritan Parliament. And I have mentioned it rather by way of example of what Puritanism was then accomplishing than to speak of its provisions in detail. The suppression of the Star Chamber and High Commission courts followed, as I have already stated, and the judges of England, who, until the time of the Commonwealth were dependent upon the favors of the crown, were now, for the first time, gifted with independence; and the proceedings of the courts, which had been carried on in the Latin language, were rendered intelligible by changing it to the English. The nation had taken such a start that even the folly and blindness which had brought back a second Charles to the throne, though aimed at Puritan supremacy, was foiled in the attempt by the undying spirit of freedom which still pervaded the sober judgment of the people. It still went on achieving new triumphs, and the *Habeas Corpus* act of Charles II., the permanent establishment of the independent tenure of the judges, the Bill of Rights and the freedom of the press, among the royal acts of William at the Revolution, were some of the permanent fruits which marked its progress.

Nor can we fail to remark in this rapid review, how many of the fundamental principles of her constitution England owes to her Puritan habits of thought and belief. It mattered not that they took new forms or acted under new names. The Puritanism of the Commonwealth took a new name at the Revolution of '88, but it had been only waiting, during the interval, for the hour, which came at last, when it should make itself felt in church and state by the light of a growing intelligence on the part of the people as to the measure and the means of protection of their rights.

I am fully sustained in what I have claimed for English Puritanism by a recent writer upon English history (Mr. Green), who uses this language: "In the revolution of 1688, Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642—slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of English progress since the restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism." And in this it borrowed a new energy from the reflected influence of the Puritanism of New England.

It is with this that, as an American association, this Society has chiefly to deal. Indeed, all that has been said has been intended as introductory only to the Puritanism of New England. With its history, every one who has any claims to the character of an antiquary, is already familiar. They know how the little church of Separatists was gathered at Scrooby and found its way to Plymouth. They are already familiar with the transition, in form, through which Winthrop and the Massachusetts colonists passed, upon leaving the mother church, and crossing the

Atlantic to found a free commonwealth upon the basis of an independent church, and a government framed and administered by the people. They know how the stream of English Puritanism, though like the fabled river of Greece it disappeared for a while, after the restoration of Charles, was found again beyond the sea, in all its primitive purity and power. But with the details by which the free institutions which we now enjoy, were built up and established upon the foundation laid in a Puritan commonwealth, all are not equally familiar. It may be well to recall some of them. And the first that presents itself, is the compact of government formed on board the Mayflower, by which a company of men, each independent of the other, and subject to the jurisdiction of no organic law, voluntarily, and of their own accord, took upon themselves the responsibilities of a "Civil Body Politic," and submitted themselves to the restraint of law which their equals and associates might see fit to impose for the general good of the colony they were about to found. It was without precedent, and that compact of civil government, the first the world had ever seen, had within it the elements of every free constitution under which the people of this great nation are now living. What a contrast is here presented between this Puritan Colony of Plymouth, and the so-called colony of Popham on the coast of Maine, which struggled, disorganized and discouraged, for a single winter and disappeared forever—the one the germ of a nationality that stretches from ocean to ocean, the other the ephemeral life of a barren stock that never took root in the soil on which it was planted. It mattered not that the Plymouth men came without a charter or a form of government. They were a law to themselves, and conscience

was the arbiter they obeyed. It was on account of that instinctive reverence for law which still characterizes every New England community wherever gathered.

The Puritans of Massachusetts, on the other hand, brought with them a charter and the forms of civil government. These embodied principles which became inwrought into the laws of the colony and are in full vigor to-day, till they have become so familiar that few stop to inquire into their source or origin. How few, for instance, have ever studied into the matter of our land titles, or the bearings of our land laws upon the character and social condition of Massachusetts, and ultimately, of the American people !

Reference has already been made to the introduction of Feudalism into England at the conquest. One of the most disastrous consequences was the accumulation of lands into the hands of a few proprietors, while the body of the people were reduced to the condition of serfs and vassals. Another consequence was, that the ownership of land grew to be a distinctive mark between gentle and ignoble rank. Nor did villenage entirely disappear until the time of Elizabeth. But there had been this spirit at work to which allusion has been made as akin to Puritanism, till it became stronger than that of feudalism itself, so that when the aristocratic land holders sought, by an act of parliament, to perpetuate their power with their estates within their own families, by rendering them inalienable, the people were not slow, by means of the courts and in accordance with the spirit of trade and commerce which began to make itself felt, to discover the means of evading a law so hostile to the sentiment of the masses. Though this aristocratic love of power, which is associated with the possession of lands, still lurks in the

constitution of the higher classes in England, it was opposed to the democratic tendencies of the Puritans of the time of Charles and the Commonwealth, and when the charter for the government and management of the Massachusetts Company was granted, a clause was carefully inserted which was aimed at the Feudalism which, even then, had not been entirely abolished in England, by rendering the lands in the colony forever free from the clogs and burdens of *tenure*, and opening them for easy acquisition and ownership to men of every class and condition. By this clause, the tenure of all lands in the colony was "free and common socage and not in *capite*," which was another form of declaring them forever free to be bought and sold, and free from all feudal burdens and impositions. Nor could the importance of this measure be better illustrated than by comparing the social condition of the people of Massachusetts with that of the lower province of Canada, in which the principle of feudal tenure was ingrafted upon her land. It was giving new life and energy to that old love of liberty and personal freedom and independence which made every Saxon's home his castle, and every freeholder the lord of his own acres. It was the key-note of the legislation which followed, by which primogeniture was abolished, and the sons of the landholders divided the inheritance between them in the true idea of democratic equality before the law. There is not time to follow out this principle of free alienation of lands in all its bearings, but to it, more, perhaps, than any other single cause, New England owes that character of her yeomanry for independent thought and generous pride of country, which have marked their history from the days of the planting of the colony. It is the difference between the

consciousness of being a tenant, and the sense of being master of one's own domain.

And this, it should be remembered, was one of the direct and legitimate fruits of New England Puritanism. But there remains to be mentioned other equally significant phases in which Puritanism manifested itself in the early policy and laws of Massachusetts. And the first of these is the mingling of religion with the secular affairs of the colony, and thus making religious belief, indirectly, an element of civil government. Men may sneer at this as bigotry, but they cannot but respect the honest conviction which called it into action. Even the exclusion of all but church members from the political privilege of freemen at the ballot-box, was but a measure of refined policy to keep the electors, in whom was the government of the colony, free from that selfishness and corruption which calls so loudly for reform in our day. It entered into that memorable organization of territory into townships, constituting them little independent democracies, to which Massachusetts owes so much of her character for thrift and intelligence, by clothing them with a double trust of religious and secular functions. Had the Puritans of Massachusetts done no more than invent and inaugurate this system of independent townships, with their organized administrative powers and duties, it would have marked them as men of eminent foresight and sagacity. It placed the affairs of these municipalities in the hands of the men who had a stake in their prudent management. It supplied the means by which every freeman held a direct control over the affairs of the Commonwealth through the representatives who were chosen by these local bodies politic. It led the

way for that system of free schools, at the public charge, which would of itself have immortalized the colony; while it gave to Puritanism an undying claim upon the respect of the present age. There are indeed, but few of the institutions peculiar to Massachusetts upon which she most prides herself, of which we could not find the germs and elements in her early puritan legislation. But the most memorable of her acts of legislation was the famous "Body of Liberties," in which was embodied the vital spirit of Puritanism in its relation to the fundamental laws of a free State. It was to New England what Magna Charta and the Petition of Right were to the mother country. It anticipated, by many years, some of the privileges which were, at last, secured to the English subject by legislation. Among these may be mentioned the right of prisoners, charged with felonies, to be heard by counsel in defence, which had never been allowed in England. It was intended indeed to be "in resemblance to Magna Charta," and in part was substantially borrowed from it. It embraced, moreover, a code of criminal law and a classification of liberties which it secured to every class in the colony, and extended its protection to brute animals. The idea of framing such a body of laws was conceived as early as 1635, but was not consummated till 1641. Its adoption showed how anxious these early Puritans were to maintain an orderly system of civil government by mingling sound and practical secular wisdom with the dictates of a pure religious faith, in behalf of which they had exposed themselves to the hardships of a pioneer life. It forbids, for example, that a man's life shall be taken, his good name stained or his person arrested, except by virtue of an express law, thus negating, in terms, the

exercise of the power which had made the Star Chamber a terror to all Englishmen. It extended, moreover, to every person within the jurisdiction, whether inhabitant or foreigner, the same law and justice as was dealt out to the citizen, although by the law of nations, as then understood, no stranger was safe within the territory of a foreign state, unless protected by letter of safe conduct. It removed all feudal impediments to the conveyance of lands. It secured to the freemen of the colony the right of choosing their own governor and general officers annually, together with their deputies to the general court. And, finally, as if to give in a single provision, the undying spirit of freedom which gives a tone to the whole of this Body of Liberties, it declares, "there shall never be any bond slavery, villenage or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us," so that from that hour, though slavery and the slave-trade were rife all over christendom, and forced upon the colony by the policy of the mother country, no human being, black or white, was or could be lawfully held as a slave in Massachusetts, if he had his birth within her boundaries, until the final emancipation of all, wrought out by our constitution of 1780.

But it was not so much to give, in detail, the provisions of this memorable code, as to show the spirit in which it was conceived, that these clauses have been repeated. Men may look with contempt upon that strange phase of human thought which wasted itself, in battling with the Antinomian heresy of Mrs. Hutchinson, or in splitting hairs in distinguishing between a "covenant of grace" and a "covenant of works," but no man with a becoming sense of self respect

would venture to cast ridicule upon the men who, like the Puritans of Massachusetts, had the political sagacity and prophetic foresight to lay such a foundation as they did, of a commonwealth which, in the third century of its growth, is still a model for the admiration and respect of the civilized world.

The purpose of these remarks has been to glance at Puritanism as it was, and as it still survives in spirit in New England. It would be easy to go further and to show how its influences here were reflected back upon Old England, in keeping the spirit of religious and civil liberty alive during the reactionary period of Charles II., till it seated Protestant William and Mary upon the deserted throne of the Catholic and bigoted James. But time forbids this retrospect, while it would be more in harmony with the occasion, to trace still further than we have been able to do, what our present frame of government and the development in growth and prosperity of our own Commonwealth owe to the Puritanism of its founders. Here are the churches it planted, and here are the school-houses it reared. Here are its little democracies of towns. Here the representatives of the people meet, as of old, to make the people's laws, and here a chief magistrate chosen by their ballots and clad in the habiliments of civil power, lays aside his office at the close of a single year, and falls back into the mass of citizenship for another to come up and occupy his place. And here, on every side, are the marks of that equality of manhood which, perhaps, more than anything else, marked the character of Puritanism, as it is seen in the personal independence which is wrought out by industry and intelligence in the various fields in which honest labor finds profitable employment.

It is in gathering up and preserving the memorials of such a race of men, that the American antiquary finds a proper sphere of labor.

Although in theory, at least, a Society like this is supposed to deal chiefly with the past, it hardly seems proper to suffer an event, now in process of accomplishment, like the International Exposition of the Arts at Philadelphia, to pass without a brief notice which may serve to show the interest which its members in common with the whole country, take in its purpose and its distinguished success. There are various lights in which it may be viewed, with many of which this Society have but an indirect interest. Some look upon it as a magnificent museum of curious articles gathered for exhibition from the various quarters of the globe; others study it in detail, as exhibiting the condition of specialties in the arts of other countries and our own; while others, when contemplating it as a whole, are almost lost in admiration at the display of the inventions and industries by which the condition of the race is elevated and improved.

It has its historical aspect also. We see there, side by side, the traces of successive periods in civilized life as marked as those of the geological periods of the earth's history—the arts of Egypt culminating and consummate almost before the rest of the world had begun their march of improvement from the lowest level of barbarism, the few implements of the American Indian fashioned from stone by almost infinite labor of the hand in contrast with the beauty and perfection of the tools and instruments of the modern artisan. It needs no elaborate treatise on history or ethnology to impress upon the mind of the most casual observer, the measure of progress which men have made in

everything which distinguishes human intelligence from the instinct of the lowest animals. It has its lessons too of political economy, illustrating, at a glance, the laws of demand and supply, and how far human culture keeps pace with the appliances of human invention in overcoming the disabilities under which man finds himself placed by nature. In the productions of art from the overstocked nations of the East, China for example, we find astonishing examples of skill and patience in producing articles of luxury, carvings in wood and ivory which astonish us by their ingenuity, but much more so by the consumption of time and labor in producing them. And we have no occasion to be told that labor there is at the lowest rate at which life can be sustained, and that art, such as it is, serves only the rich, because the poor cannot turn it to their own advantage. They have no occasion for labor-saving machines, and, therefore, they do not invent them. One of Bigelow's carpet looms would take the bread from thousands of the carpet weavers of the East, and they work on by hand in producing, after days and months, what, by the machinery of our own country, would require only as many hours. Another thing which serves to mark the difference which is found in the condition of some of the old nations of the East and that of our own country, for example, is seen within the halls of this exhibition, and that is, while so much skill and labor is exhausted in the former in ministering to the display and luxury of the higher and richer classes, little, if anything, is produced for the ease or comfort of the middling or lower classes. It shows the impassable lines which separate caste and rank and social condition there. Whereas invention here has been as active and art

and skill as curious and pains-taking in caring for the laborer, for the man of humble means, as for the rich and luxurious. The sewing-machine, and the machine for making boots and shoes, are miracles of ingenuity, in which the humblest mother of a family and the man who toils at day labor have a direct and personal interest and benefit.

The contrast which is exhibited here between the product of hand labor and that by machinery, is seen in a thousand different forms; and it serves to illustrate a contrast quite as marked between the stages attained in the intellectual progress of the nations here represented.

In this way this international exposition has a most important social and moral aspect. It is where inventions have supplied the means of providing the comforts and necessities of life cheaply and abundantly, that men find time to attend to their intellectual wants, to cultivate social intercourse, to minister to æsthetic taste, and develop the higher capabilities which distinguish man from the other animals. And we have only to go through the departments of the exhibition at Philadelphia to see all this illustrated to a degree which no one at all familiar with ethnology, could fail to understand or appreciate. Nor is it without interesting and important hints in its political bearings and history. We meet here and mingle with people of almost every nationality upon the globe. We hear almost every language spoken, and see all religions represented. Everything is friendly, civil and courteous, no distinctions in priority or precedence, everything is as if they all formed one great harmonious nation. Nor can we fail to contrast this with a period less than two hundred years ago, when the citizen of one nation must have a letter of safe conduct

in order to be safe, in person or property, within the limits of another. Or even with the condition of Europe within a single score of years, when no man could pass from one of the states upon the continent to another without a formal passport. Nor is that all; not only are hundreds and thousands of foreign visitors gathered at this locality in conscious security of person, but here are millions of property put under the protection of our laws, with the same feeling of safety which the most favored of these strangers would have if the same were within their own shops and warehouses at home. Men may sneer at the notions of those who are looking for a code of International Law, by which war, as the business of nations, is to become a thing of the past. But there is enough witnessed, every day, within the precincts of this exhibition, to encourage the belief that the relations of nations are yet to be like those of men in social life, those of peace and mutual good will. In such an exhibition these nations, in this way, are unconsciously drawn to each other by the strongest bonds of union which human necessities and human sympathies can fashion or conceive.

And while we leave these broader, and, what some may regard more interesting, grounds of contemplating this as an international exhibition, there is enough to awaken emotions of generous pride in regarding it in its national bearing as an American enterprise. No man can have witnessed it as an exhibition of the American people, whom it has drawn together, without a feeling that they, as well as the objects of their skill and ingenuity, are among the things to be studied and admired. For some five months

or more, the grounds containing the objects of this exhibition have been crowded with the people of these states, representing all classes, both sexes, and every age, the man of eighty and the babe in its mother's arms. At times from one hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and fifty-six thousand persons, in a single day, have been spectators of what is there to be seen, its grounds and buildings open alike to all, here and there a police officer, whose service is rather to act as a guide to others than to suppress disorder; and all this without confusion, without seeing one intoxicated individual or hearing a profane oath, or one outcry of any kind, each intent in examining for himself the objects of interest before him, all decently clad, and all civil and intelligent in their inquiries. It is a spectacle which carries with it a moral dignity almost approaching sublimity. They come together as one people, with a common pride of country, to contemplate the boundless resources of wealth of that country in her fruits, her minerals, her arts, her means and elements of education, her intelligent and orderly representatives of forty millions, speaking a common language, following a common flag, and sharing in a common destiny. If the exhibition did no more than this, it would be an event of no ordinary magnitude. But as rounding out, as it were, the history of the first entire century of our country's progress, it deserves a place in the memorials which it is the business of this Society to preserve, and as an earnest of the future of our country it is an event whose importance can only be measured by the developments of a coming age.

For the Council,

EMORY WASHBURN.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE accessions of the last six months are eight hundred and twenty-nine books, two thousand seven hundred and thirty-one pamphlets, two hundred and nine files of unbound newspapers, and fifteen manuscripts; also, maps, engravings, lithographs, photographs, busts, &c., named in the list attached to this report.

The valuable donations described in that record are too many to be particularized here. The contributions from members of the society are mentioned together, and show what appropriate and useful service its associates are rendering to the cause of history and literature. Tokens of remembrance and interest from members abroad are always particularly acceptable. Professor Otto Keller, of Germany, since his recent election, has kept up an active correspondence with our President, and a learned essay by him on the symbolism of the Greek Mythology has recently been received for the library. It is hoped that other productions from his pen, on archæological subjects, may follow. Our former townsman, Hon. John C. B. Davis, U. S. Minister in Berlin, sends us the account of proceedings of Americans at Berlin on the centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, with his own remarks as presiding officer. In the evening, a very curious series of tableaux

vivants, on national subjects, was exhibited by ladies and gentlemen at the Minister's house. All were antiquaries for the occasion.

Another associate, Rev. Dr. Damon, sends his "Centennial Reflections," from the Sandwich Islands.

A very peculiar work in manuscript is presented by its author, Rear-Admiral Preble. It is a thick folio volume, handsomely bound, entitled "Notes on Longevity", and is illustrated by portraits and personal notices of remarkable instances.

The scrap-book method of preserving historical facts may be made exceedingly useful, and is susceptible of great extension and improvement. Our associate, William S. Barton, Esq., has thus collected a series of articles upon the early history of Worcester, which he had from time to time written for the newspapers. And our Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., besides his other services and gifts, has arranged, in books prepared specially for the purpose, specimens of the different denominations of Rebel currency and bonds, procured from Washington, under a vote of the Council, through the agency of Hon. George F. Hoar; and also, in another volume, specimens belonging to the society of postage stamps of different periods and countries, with large additions of his own. These are volumes for our shelves, in all external appearance like published books, so neat is their handiwork.

We are hoping to obtain as complete a collection as can be gathered of the literature of the Great Exhibition. The Brazilian Commission have sent us their elaborate and valuable publications; Mr. P. D. Richards, of Boston, has presented six books and eighty pamphlets of a like

nature; various desirable things were brought by our Treasurer, and by Mr. Barton, the Assistant Librarian; and we are permitted to expect more from General F. Walker, Mr. C. B. Norton, and others, officially connected with the exhibition.

Among the contributions of Judge Aldrich are one hundred and sixty-one manuals of Congregational Churches, procured specially for the library,—a portion of a larger accumulation he is aiming to bring together. They may be of much service to Dr. Dexter, when he is ready to edit our publication of the original draft of the Cambridge Platform.

A purely archæological contribution comes from a member at the West. It is an account of the prehistoric remains which were found on the site of Cincinnati, and a vindication of the "Cincinnati Tablet" (so-called) by Robert Clarke, Esq., of that city.

M. Pierre Margry's French publication of the Discoveries and Establishments of France in North America, 1614–1754, from Original Memoirs and Documents, Part I., has reached us through the Smithsonian Institution, probably from the compiler.

Miss Sarah E. Chase, of Worcester, lately returned from Europe, has brought for our cabinet an Etruscan head in terra cotta, of great antiquity.

Our portrait busts are increased in number by the gift, from President Salisbury, of Volk's bust of Abraham Lincoln and Kinney's half-sized reproductions of Houdon's heads of Washington and Lafayette. The artist has placed a military cap of the period on the head of Lafayette, with excellent effect. They are all very spirited specimens

of sculpture. Mr. Kinney has himself presented one of Ball's cabinet busts of Prescott, the historian.

There will be occasion to mention the photographs of Indian life and personal appearance presented by the Rev. Mr. Waterston, in another place.

It would be agreeable to refer to the special character and merit of each donation if space could be afforded.

A glance at the shelves and tables of the library will convince the society that provision must speedily be made, not merely for future accumulations, but for those which now are awaiting a suitable resting place. Even the temporary accommodations to which resort has been had are occupied to the extent of their capacity; and, apart from the considerations of proper arrangement, and convenient facilities for use, the simple question of *storage* begins to demand a practical solution.

This building has been occupied twenty-three years. It was completed in the Spring of 1853. The books were removed to it early in the season, and the first meeting within its walls was held in October of that year. It was a memorable period in several respects. The By-Laws, established in 1831, directed that the annual meeting at Worcester should be held on the 23d of October, unless the day happened to be Sunday, when the meeting should be on the Monday following. It was supposed that the 23d of October (new style) corresponded to the date of the discovery of America by Columbus. The correctness of that supposition being questioned, particularly by Dr. Shurtleff, who had been studying the subject of calendars, a change was then proposed and adopted. The report of the Council, prepared by Rev. Mr. Hale, stated the purpose to be that

the annual meeting of the society should take place on the real anniversary of the discovery of this continent—the point desired being to take the day corresponding, not to the nomenclature which in Columbus's calendar marked the date of his discovery, but to the precise return of that period of the year. "We may," said Mr. Hale, "settle the date of that anniversary, in our present style, by recurring simply to those astronomical phenomena which were wholly unaffected by any change of calendar. It appears that Columbus made his discovery on the morning of the 29th day after the autumnal equinox. That day now falls on the 21st of October; and by appointing the 21st of October as the day of our annual meetings, we shall therefore fix them on the precise anniversary of the discovery itself. It will be the day of which the celestial phenomena, the temperature, and other circumstances of the season will be, as nearly as possible, those which the unconscious deserts of Massachusetts presented in 1492, on the critical morning when the great voyager planted his foot on the island of San Salvador."

In the same paper Mr. Hale made the following statement:

"The past week has announced to us the greatest victory in the history of American discovery since Magelhaens doubled the southern point of the Continent and passed into the Pacific ocean. Commander McClure, of the English discovery ship *Investigator*, arrived, on the 19th of April, 1858, at Melville Island, in the Polar Sea, at the station occupied by Captain Kellett, of the ship *Resolute*. Intelligence of this has just now been received in England, and reached us on Friday last. Commander McClure has by this time, very probably, arrived there himself. If so, he is the first man to circumnavigate the American Continent."

That October meeting of the society was the last at which our much respected President, ex-Governor Davis, was present. He had taken great interest in the erection of this building, giving to all its arrangements, and the details of its construction, the advantage of his personal observation and judgment. At that meeting he changed his position of Vice-President for that of President, on the resignation of Hon. Edward Everett, and was succeeded in the former office by Hon. Stephen Salisbury—upon whom, said Mr. Davis, the mantle of the Presidency must ultimately fall; not expecting it, probably, to drop so soon from his own shoulders, but foreseeing that which should ultimately happen according to the fitness of things.

It was provided in the plan of our building that the library proper should afford shelf-room for about forty three thousand volumes, leaving a possibility for a second gallery to be inserted, if deemed advisable, at some future day. The necessity of such an addition was, however, regarded as an event so distant as hardly to be taken into consideration, and its inadvisability would now be generally admitted. The probable needs of the library were so far under estimated that the upper portion of the building was believed to be amply sufficient for its wants; and when Mr. Salisbury, in addition to his gift of the land, offered \$5,000 towards the completion of the edifice, the lower apartment was made subject to his control for the use of the public library of the City. That apartment, as it proved, became, almost immediately, essential to the convenient manipulation and storage of unbound accessions; and the City Library soon expanded far beyond our means of accommodation, in a spacious structure of its own.

The number of books in our library in October, 1853, was about two hundred volumes short of twenty-one thousand. It is now not far from sixty thousand, or about seventeen thousand more than were provided for in the original arrangement of the library-room ; unless the suggestion of another gallery should be deemed worthy of adoption. This, however, would take away the space now so favorably occupied by portraits, impair the architectural effect of the interior, and, at best, afford quarters imperfectly lighted and inconvenient of access.

Anticipating the necessity of an early enlargement, our ever thoughtful President purchased, a few years ago, the lot of land in the rear of our building, and gave it to the society ; adding to the gift the sum of \$8,000, to be placed on interest, with the hope and expectation that it would be sufficient to defray the expense of enlargement by the time that measure became indispensable. The generous fund has received the careful nursing of a faithful treasurer, but the increase of the library could not be kept back to await its growth. In the exigency which has arrived the question to be determined is, whether \$13,000, the present amount of the fund, can be made to serve substantially for the erection of a suitable addition to the existing edifice.

There have been some preliminary points to settle respecting the form and extent of the addition, in its adaptation to the shape of the land and the architectural effect of the structure. There were difficulties in the way which, it is now believed, can be satisfactorily overcome ; and an extension of sixty, or sixty-five feet, in length, by forty-eight in width, can be secured, without an unfavorable external effect. The architect, who thinks he has obviated these

local and æsthetical embarrassments, has also entered into calculations towards solving the material question of financial sufficiency. He has presented a plan, on the basis of an addition of fifty-five feet, the cost of which is estimated by him at \$11,500.

If an impressive appearance can be given to a library edifice, or an agreeable one, such as the design suggested seems to promise, it is so much gain; but there are two important facts to be taken into account in these cases. *First*, architects seldom, if ever, succeed in devising a plan for a building that is well adapted to the practical uses and administration of a library. The exemplifications of this fact are everywhere. *Second*, a prosperous and increasing library may be expected to outgrow and nullify any exterior or interior design that can be preconceived. A library is a living and moving being that must be allowed to develop itself according to its nature, and in the direction of its particular tendencies. You will not expect to rebuild whenever the space provided for a class or department of books is filled. You will not find it desirable or convenient to have numerous distinct and distant places for such a class or department. Moreover, each class or department enlarges within itself, as well as without, requiring constant displacement and rearrangement. Consequently, the expansion of the building must often be, or should be, at the place where greater space is demanded, without restrictive reference to symmetry or proportion. The time will come in every progressive library, as it has come in most great libraries abroad, when, if means permit, there may be picture galleries, and ornamental apartments for exhibition or public use, but the books must chiefly be stored in the manner

most suitable for the frequent readjustment and manipulation they require for practical service, whether access to them is allowed to visitors or not. In a small, private collection of books, they may be bound in uniformity and so adjusted as to become a part of the embellishment of the room; though it may be questionable taste thus to destroy their individuality by disposing them with military precision in ranks of unvarying aspect, or making them serve as portions of the architectural finish and ornamentation. How completely the fine differences of external character are lost in such a process! those distinctions of appearance which are personal to almost every work, and readily catch the observation of the seeker.

In a public, working library, a harmony of appearance in books is as impracticable as it is undesirable. All sizes, and forms, and colors, must often be placed in juxtaposition, or near proximity, for facility of reference.

An inference from these considerations is, that great libraries should be permitted, like mediæval churches, to take irregular forms, bulging out in this or that direction according to necessity or expediency; and, as the meaning of these irregularities comes to be understood and appreciated, they will be more admired (for their purpose) than any rigid and rectangular outlines can be. It is upon some principle similar to this that library architecture, already so important a branch of art in this country, must eventually be based; and there is no reason why it should not, after its own manner, rival that of churches and cathedrals in pleasing and imposing effect. If a point of utility is sacrificed to an imagined requirement of taste, this fancy will be compelled to yield in time to the inevitable rule of the

supremacy of the fittest,—a result constantly occurring, not merely in libraries, but in all buildings for practical purposes. The popular demand for information does not differ from the commonplace demand for the means of light and warmth, in the relations of production and supply, and the cost and ease of producing and distributing are as really to be considered in one case as the other. The economy of labor-saving arrangements is as important to the administration of a library as to the management of any business establishment, and the oft-repeated saving of a few steps or a few minutes will appear as truly in the results.

I was unaware, till this moment of writing, that Mr. Winsor, of the Boston Public Library, had followed out a somewhat similar train of thought in a paper on library buildings, furnished by him to the U. S. Commissioner of Education, now just published in the Commissioner's Report. I am glad to find that our views on the general principles of library construction substantially agree. Mine have sprung from reflections caused by the proposed changes in our own structure, and are introduced simply in that association. The plan of our present library room was produced by careful and joint study on the part of Professor Jewett, the late distinguished bibliographer, and Mr. Tefft, the architect; and I wish to bear testimony to its entire fulfilment of their anticipations. It satisfies the eye in the particulars of sufficient light and agreeable effect, and the facilities of access and convenient handling are unexceptionable. The area of this graceful hall, with its high dome, and spaces above the shelves favorable for portraits, will probably continue to be the reception room and chief public apartment, whatever additions and modifications may be applied to other portions of the building.

Mr. Winsor seems disposed to contrast the libraries of an antiquarian society and a municipality, as requiring different structures, partly on account of the greater size and extent of the latter; but this diversity may not always exist, and the principles he assumes are equally pertinent to both.

"To have a good library building," he says, "its plan of administration should be decided upon; and according with that its book rooms, public waiting rooms, official and service quarters, should be planned to fall into the most convenient relations one to the other. Describe this to the architect, and ask him if he can build his edifice around these quarters without disturbing size or relative position. If he complains that the public apartments do not give sight of the books, and that he must fail of half his effects if he cannot have handsome bindings and vistas of shelving, tell him to fail, that the public wants books to read and not to look at." "We have too many architectural enormities in library structures already. Witness the public libraries of Boston and Cincinnati, the Astor in New York, and, among the smaller ones, that of Springfield, Mass."

"The traditional form of a large library," he continues, "of which we have examples in all the libraries named above, has come down to us with other old monastic ideas, when the monks were the only users of books, and when the seclusion of alcoves comported with their literary habits." "The alcove system, arranged about a central area, is to this day the most convenient plan where a collection is devoted to a small or solely scholarly use, and where, as is the case with scientific societies, or other bodies of specialists, their members are allowed unrestricted access to the shelves. The alcoves being at the end of radial lines from the central

tables, and each alcove carrying out the same principle in relation to its own central table, the service of the library, whether performed by one's self or by deputy, requires the minimum of time and strength."

Mr. Winsor probably would find no objections to our present library arrangements, so far as they go; but would say that any enlargement must be carefully devised so as not to add unnecessarily to the labor of management.

It is not to a mere increase in the number of *books* that the efforts of the officers of this library have been directed, but to a fulfilment of the special duties attached to the nature and purposes of the institution, by means of collections in aid of those duties and promotive of those purposes. Hence it is that classics, ancient and modern, and the standard literary publications found at bookstores, and in collegiate and municipal libraries, have not so much been sought as productions of the press, in whatever form, containing facts in national or personal history. The society has for its fields of research the history of the country at large, past and present, the history of particular places, and the history of persons, or family history. Back of these lies the prehistoric or paleological field, about which a few words may be said explanatory of our position in reference to it.

While the archaeological societies of Europe have found occupation in elucidating the remains, monumental or accidental, of ancient communities from which their own have descended, bestowing little attention, until recently, upon relics of the primitive condition of the human race, we, in this country, have had only these primitive relics as objects of investigation to which any doubt or mystery is attached. Of these there are two classes. 1st, the remains of semi-

civilized tribes, or peoples, beyond the bounds of the United States. 2d, those of the barbarous pre-occupants of the soil within the limits of our national government. The first class we have not had the opportunity of examining in any exact or elaborate manner, affording any material advancement beyond the knowledge and treatment contained in popular narratives.

The ruder aborigines of the regions within the United States have, without any certain foundation of fact or probability, been regarded as composed of at least two distinct peoples, viz: the Mound Builders (so called) who constructed large and permanent earthworks, significant of fixed habitation, a degree of social order, and a rather numerous population, but not exhibiting any remarkable progress in the ordinary domestic arts; and, secondly, the barbarous tribes found scattered through the country at the arrival of Europeans. The first are generally spoken of as an extinct race; while the last are considered as of later introduction, with common attributes, indicative of a common origin among themselves differing from that of their predecessors.*

The remains of the Mound Builders are earthworks of particular kinds but limited variety, easily distinguishable, and yielding implements also limited in variety and not very different from those of modern tribes, unless in point of finish; which distinction may arise from the fact that the best were selected for preservation in the graves of the chiefs.

The remains of the barbarous tribes are smaller and ruder earthworks, with pottery, utensils and weapons, that are

*Dr. Farnsworth, of Iowa, concludes that the present Indians are of the same race as the Mound Builders, from a study of their anatomical structure, and modes of burial.

almost identical in character throughout the country, but are more numerous, and sometimes more carefully constructed, in certain localities.

Accessions of territory on the Pacific side of the continent have brought into the domain of the United States remains of another class that seem to be in their nature, as they are generally in position, between those of the original United States and the greater monuments of Mexico and Central America.

This society began, soon after its organization, to explore the more remarkable antiquities of the West; and more than half a century since published an elaborate survey of earth-works and minor relics in the valley of the Mississippi. The volume, of 436 pages, was abundantly illustrated by plans, diagrams and views, with a letter-press of particular description, and such explanatory discussion as circumstances required. Nearly every characteristic variety of form, in structures, in utensils, ornaments and weapons, is there represented; and it is singular how little additional light has since been thrown upon the habits and arts of the tribes or communities who left these remains behind them.

In 1847, the Smithsonian Institution, just then coming to the front, with its ample means, as the leader of scientific investigation in this country, dedicated its first volume to the publication of a new survey of the same region, by Messrs. Squire and Davis. All that careful re-examination, precise measurements, and profuse artistic illustrations could accomplish, is combined in their memoir, which the Institution produced in the best possible manner. It is most creditable in all respects to its authors, and to the earnest liberality of its publishers. At the same time it makes

manifest how little beyond a multiplication of instances, with greater precision of representation and fuller details, this society had left to be developed by its successors.

The second publication by our society was devoted to the recent or existing races of aborigines, and contains a synopsis of the Indian tribes within the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian possessions in North America, by the late Hon. Albert Gallatin. The tribes are classed in families according to their respective languages, and copious vocabularies and linguistic analyses are given by the learned and distinguished writer. Although the subject is now better understood, and the means of elucidation have very greatly increased, Mr. Gallatin's labors have as yet been succeeded by no similar work of equal comprehensiveness in the same department.

The society's volume contains, also, an historical account of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675-6-7.

Thus the Antiquarian Society entered, and fairly possessed in advance of others, the only fields of purely archæological research to be found in a land where the arts and monuments of a higher civilization have not attained to an antiquity of their own.

When the Smithsonian Institution began to apply its large pecuniary resources to the same investigations, the employment of our humble means in that direction became, in a measure, superfluous; and when the United States government passed, in 1847, an act empowering and directing the Bureau of Indian affairs to have prepared a great national work embracing all that was known or could be discovered relating to the past history and present condition of the

native races, under the supervision of a gentleman much whose life has been passed among their existing remains from that department of inquiry seemed wholly taken out of our hands. It would have been futile to engage in competition with two powerful bodies whose facilities for collecting information and acquiring its illustration the highest artistic skill were beyond all comparison superior.

The Smithsonian Institution has continued to print in an admirable style of typography, archaeological and linguistic papers prepared for its use, and has also inserted contributions of the same nature in its less formal reports.

The United States government, having filled six large quarto volumes with matter of every conceivable kind bearing upon American ethnology, with innumerable costly engravings, exhibiting both in outline and color the principal objects of interest, still pursues, by means of its highly educated surveyors, the same researches through the new explored territories of the West. In view of the thorough scientific and carefully illustrated reports of these accomplished officers, the Society can hardly regret that its legitimate work is done by others while it is done so well.

There is a class of earthworks pertaining to the prehistoric period, about which little, comparatively, was known when the memoir of Messrs. Squire and Davis was printed. These are the mounds, low in elevation but large in horizontal extent, which represent the forms of animals. They are perhaps not less remarkable, and are more mysterious than the tumuli and enclosures of the Ohio valley, for which a purpose may reasonably be conceived. With few exceptions, they are confined to the region of Wisconsin, and the States immediately adjoining. About the time of the com-

pletion of this building, our society, though not burdened with funds, supplied money to Mr. Lapham, an intelligent surveyor of Wisconsin, for the expense of procuring drawings and descriptions of those singular monuments. His notes and sketches were duly transmitted to our Publishing Committee, and were prepared for the press by your librarian.

Considerations arising from the great cost of suitable publication, out of proportion to the means of the society then at command, led to the acceptance of a proposition from the Smithsonian Institution to bring out Mr. Lapham's memoir in a style corresponding to that of Messrs. Squire and Davis. It was arranged that the memoir should be printed by that Institution, on the literary responsibility of the American Antiquarian Society; as appears by the title page and prefatory notice attached to it. Owing to the great expense attendant upon the issue of a work containing so many illustrations (as Prof. Henry says in the same notice), the publication was somewhat delayed, and was not completed till the summer of 1855.

This was just at the dawn of the new era of archæological investigation which has given a different, and a peculiar and common direction, to such studies throughout the world.

While European Antiquaries, in a quiet and humdrum way, were tracing the vestiges of Roman conquest and possession, deciphering obscure inscriptions, and explaining the meaning of mediæval ornaments and emblems, a great secret lay slumbering beneath the arrow heads and axes of stone that were constantly disinterred from the soil, and, under the names of elfin arrows and celts, were then chiefly known in superstitious or poetical associations.

That they were held in this country, also, as of comparative unimportance, was perhaps due to the circumstances that the people who made and used such implements had hardly passed from our sight, and that the uniformity of shape and material seemed to afford little scope for classification according to age or locality.

But in the winter of 1854-5 a lake in Switzerland shrank away under an unwonted drouth, and disclosed the broken, but distinctly traceable habitations of a race with whose antiquity Herculaneum and Pompeii are too modern to be named in comparison. There too, preserved in mud, more precious for its service than amber, were relics of all the domestic arts and manufactures, and even the food of an unknown people. Gradually the bottoms of other lakes in Switzerland, and elsewhere, were made to yield like disclosures, pointing to similar primeval conditions of life, and indicating stages of progress by the same signs wherever found. The search for further developments was extended to ancient beds of rivers, to caves and shell heaps, with most instructive results. The primitive man, even beyond the great geological periods of glaciers, submersion, upheaval and drift, was supposed to be revealed; while the steps of advancement were traced, through the ages of rude stone implements, of ground and polished stone implements, and of implements of bronze, to those of iron.

It was soon perceived that the man of remote epochs in Europe resembled the aboriginal American of recent dates in the fashion and material of his utensils, in habits of life, and even, as maintained, in physical conformation — the crania and some of the tools from the caves of France displaying a marked affinity to those of tribes now living in our arctic regions.

The *prehistoric man* is now the all-absorbing subject of research and speculation with archæological and scientific bodies; and of course a new and enlarged interest is given to the prehistoric American, as explained and illustrated by the same tribes yet lingering upon the same soil.

Hence the increased importance of procuring specimens of all the arts and fabrics of the latter, in every variety of form and substance, and whatever will exhibit their civil *status* and their degree of intellectual advancement. Nor should their corporeal traits be forgotten; and here we may refer to the expressive photographs which our associate, Rev. Mr. Waterston, is so providently and generously collecting for the society. They will prolong a conception of the personal attributes of an expiring race, such as the real aspect of the living face and figure alone can give.

While at Lausanne, in the fall of 1867, your librarian visited Prof. Troyon, whose large collections from the Swiss lakes enabled him to publish one of the earliest and best accounts of them. It was only a few days before his sudden death. He was full of enthusiasm on his favorite subject, and predicted that discoveries of the same nature would be made in the beds of former or existing lakes in this country. He was also confident that a copper age, wanting in the European series, between the ages of stone and bronze, would be found to have existed here.

One of these anticipations, that of an age of copper, has appeared likely to be realized, from the numerous evidences of mining in that metal found near Lake Superior, and the various copper implements taken from the mounds; but recent observations tend to show that these implements were not employed as tools or weapons, but must have been

regarded as sacred emblems, and were held as badges of rank, or objects of superstitious reverence, like the hatchets of variegated slate, so highly finished, but too soft and delicate for service. The question is ably considered in a paper by Dr. R. J. Farquharson in the proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Davenport, Iowa, recently received by us.*

Some writers are taking the ground that, as this continent is the oldest geologically, it must be regarded as the cradle of the human race; and that migration hence to Europe and Asia took place at a period when there were easy passages by land, where now only the tops of mountains are seen as islands above the waters.

In the rapid development of every portion of the United States, and the no less rapid aggregation of facts and phenomena in Government and other publications, and especially from the continuance of exhaustive compilations of ascertained information, like the valuable work of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, it may be expected that the time will soon arrive when, so far as the United States are concerned, research shall give place to speculative discussion. An opportunity will then be afforded to our society to employ its learning and ability in detecting the philosophy of admitted facts and analogies, and thus solving, by the force of general principles, the problems which they present.

Our associate, the Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, has already undertaken to explain the actual character and extent of Mexican civilization, and the nature of Mexican institutions, from a study of the phenomena of Indian life as seen in our

*Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences. Vol. I. 1867-1876.

own time, and has, in the July number of the North American Review, extended his theory to a solution of the uses of the works of the Mound Builders. It will not do lightly to disregard his opinions, as they are founded on a careful investigation of the plan of thought which governs the usages of the aboriginal race, and are fortified by no little force and consistency of reasoning.

It has not been the design of these remarks to take a general survey of the past labors of this society, or to exhibit the present condition of American archæology, but to obtain a just idea of the position of the society in relation to a division of its duties and responsibilities which some will regard as the chief, if not the only one. Hence no mention is made of the purely historical papers comprised in its Memoirs and Proceedings.

It is not difficult to conceive that the antiquities proper of this country may sooner or later have been made to yield all the information they can convey; but, in regard to the equally important responsibilities connected with the care and extension of a library we have the assurance of the sacred Preacher that "of making of many books there is *no end.*"

Our society may not itself engage in the composition of History or Genealogy, in the technical sense of these pursuits, but it is called upon to furnish means and facilities for its accomplishment by others. This it may fairly be claimed it has been doing, if quietly and economically, yet in a diligent and liberal way, after the example set by its founder. In two departments of collection—those of Newspapers and Pamphlets—Dr. Thomas took the precedence in this country. Such fugitive productions were hardly thought

worthy of preservation in public libraries before his time. They are troublesome to handle and expensive to prepare for permanent keeping. But for the binding fund provided by our present President they would be an unmanageable burden. As it is, they are among the choicest of our treasures.

No nation, until ours, ever started in its career with such opportunities and advantages for the perpetuation of its minutest history. If the sentiment of patriotic interest in the deeds of our fathers, which it is the aim of this institution to cherish, continues unabated, no public event need be without a historian and no distinguished citizen without a biographer. The progress of the republic and the growth of each particular community are alike the objects of research and record; and upon occasion the smaller affairs of cities and towns may be combined with and fitted into the larger affairs of the nation—as seen in many recent able historical discourses. At least two of our associates have shown how well a Fourth of July oration may be made to serve as a medium for the correction and enlargement of purely local annals.*

In the collection of the minor materials of history a keen and active rivalry has sprung up and is increasing among nearly all the libraries of the country. Our institution led the way, and has been instrumental in promoting the practice of regarding nothing too trifling that may contain a fact or an illustration. It has rescued some things from probable oblivion, and has furnished shelter and protection to many more, standing in need of care for their preserva-

*Dr. S. A. Green at Groton, and Rev. Elias Nason at Billerica.

tion. It has not only opened its hospitable doors to welcome such accessions when voluntary guests, but has sent out into the highways and gathered together all, as many as it found, "both bad and good," it may be, though that which is bad in one sense is often very good in another. In this line of duty and mode of usefulness there is no reason to be dissatisfied with the degree of success that has attended past efforts. The measure of our space, at least, if not of our responsibility, has been filled, and it remains to determine what adequate provision can be made for requirements that are to come.

Respectfully submitted,

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.





Donors and Donations.

Admiral GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N.—His Manuscript Notes on Longevity, carefully indexed and bound.

Dr. OTTO KELLER.—His Ueber den Entwicklungsgang des Antiken Symbolik.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge.—His "Notes on an Indenture of David Thompson and others"; his Paper on the Records of the Council for New England; and Belknap's journal of a tour to the White Mountains in July, 1784, edited by Mr. Deane.

Hon. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, Boston.—His Memoir of Isaiah Thomas; and six other of his publications.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, Worcester.—His remarks on the Criminal Laws of Massachusetts; One Hundred and Sixty-One Congregational Church Manuals; and thirteen bound volumes.

Major BEN: PERLEY POORE, Washington, D. C.—His Congressional Directory of August, 1876.

EDWARD JARVIS, M.D., Dorchester.—His Papers on the Relation of Education to Insanity, and on Infant Mortality; fifty-seven pamphlets, and various newspapers.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., Dedham.—His Notice of Horace Binney; and his collection of the Speeches in Congress of his father, Josiah Quincy.

Hon. CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington.—His Abstract of the History of Lexington, Mass.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston.—His Centennial Oration at Boston, July 4, 1876; and his Remarks at the Meeting of the Peabody Education Fund Trustees, August 3, 1876.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester.—His Speeches on Jurisdiction in Impeachment; and on the Political Condition of the South.

Hon. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, Worcester.—His Address on the Centennial Situation of Woman.

Col. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, Cleveland, O.—Four of his Papers on Scientific subjects.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., Esq., Worcester.—His Report as Secretary of the Trustees of the City Hospital of Worcester.

Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS, Berlin.—His Remarks at the Centennial Celebration by the Americans in Berlin, July 4, 1876.

Col. ALBERT H. HOYT, Boston.—His Article on Donations to the People of Boston Suffering under the Port-Bill, 1774-1777; one hundred and thirty books; three hundred and sixty pamphlets; two maps; and various circulars and cards.

ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—His Pre-Historic Remains at Cincinnati, Ohio, with a Vindication of the "Cincinnati Tablet;" and an account of the Ninth Reunion of the Army of the Cumberland.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.—Four Historical pamphlets, prepared by himself in 1876; one hundred and seventy-eight pamphlets two files of newspapers; seven lithographs; postage stamps; and collection of circulars and cards.

Col. T. W. HIGGINSON, Newport, R. I.—His Young Folks' History of the United States.

JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y.—His Reminiscences of Men and Things in Northfield, 1812-1825; and thirty-two pamphlets.

PLINY E. CHASE, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Essay on Some Fundamental Propositions of Central Forces.

Rev. SAMUEL C. DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, H. I.—His Sermon on Centennial Reflections, preached August 27, 1876.

WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester.—His Monographs on Worcester Schools in 1726; the First Church in Worcester; and Ancient Burial Places in Worcester; and six bound volumes.

Rev. ELIAS NASON, Billerica.—His Centennial Oration at Billerica Mass., July 4, 1876.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—His History of the United States, volumes 4, 5 and 6 of the Centennial Edition.

Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, New Haven, Conn.—His Monograph on Mr William Diodate and his Italian Ancestry.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., Boston.—The Siege and Evacuation Memorial, Boston, 1876. Containing his Address and a Chronicle of the Siege.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston.—His Historical Address, Bi-Centennial and Centennial, delivered at Groton, Mass., July 4, 1876, two editions, two books; forty pamphlets; and ten manuscripts.

Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Ipswich.—His Jones Records, a help to Family History.

BARNARD D. EASTMAN, M.D., Worcester.—His Report of 1875, as Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.

HENRY A. HOMES, LL.D., Albany, N. Y.—His History and Condition of Historical Societies in the United States.

WILLIAM P. UPHAM, Esq., Salem.—Letters written at the time of the occupation of Boston by the British, 1775-6, with notes by Mr. Upham.

R. A. BROCK, Esq., Richmond, Va.—Richmond Newspapers containing historical articles communicated by him.

REV. CALEB DAVIS BRADLEE, Boston.—His Sermon on the Teachings of the Mountains, preached September 3, 1876.

SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Esq., Augusta, Me.—His Pamphlets on the History of the Cattle of Maine, and the Menhaden and Herring Fisheries of Maine, in connection with Agriculture; the Proceedings of the Maine Cavalry Association 1874-5; and the Maine Genealogist and Biographer, as issued.

MR. J. M. BANCROFT, New York.—His Circular No. 3, upon Thomas Bancroft and his descendants.

MR. EDWARD DENHAM, New Bedford.—His Four Reasons why History is read so little.

PROF. C. O. THOMPSON, Worcester.—His Address at the Dedication of Cushing Academy, September 7, 1875; two books; eighty-four pamphlets; forty-eight electrotypes; fifteen lithographs; and twenty-two maps.

MR. ALBERT A. LOVELL, Worcester.—His Worcester in the War of the Revolution.

REV. WM. STEVENS PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y.—His account of the Reunion Conference at Bonn, 1875; and Hale's Mozarabic Liturgy.

EDWIN M. SNOW, M.D., Providence, R. I.—His Reports as City Registrar of Providence from 1871 to 1873 inclusive.

ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose.—His Centennial Address at Melrose, July 4, 1876.

HON. CHARLES DEVENS, JR., Worcester.—His address at West Point, June 14, 1876, as President of the Board of Visitors.

WILLIAM H. BRIGGS, Esq., Worcester.—His Centennial Address at East Douglas, Mass., July 4, 1876.

JOHN S. BILLINGS, Assistant-Surgeon U. S. A.—His Specimen Fasciculus of a Catalogue of the National Medical Library, with an introduction by Dr. Billings.

HON. HENRY C. MURPHY, Brooklyn, N. Y.—His Supplementary Note for his Memoir on the Voyage of Verrazzano.

WILLIAM F. POOLE, Esq., Chicago, Ill.—His Article on the Ordinance of 1787 and Dr. Manasseh Cutler.

ALEXANDER STARBUCK, Esq., Nantucket.—His "Nantucket in the Revolution."

CHARLES C. BALDWIN, Esq., Cleveland, O.—His Notes on the Ancestry of Sylvester Baldwin; and his Account of the Early Maps of Ohio and the West.

ROBERT R. BISHOP, Esq., Newton.—His Addresses at the Dedication of the Medfield Town Hall, September 10, 1872; and at the Re-Dedication, November 2, 1874.

HON. CHARLES COWLEY, Lowell.—An Account of the Semi-Centennial Celebration at Lowell, including Mr. Cowley's Address.

ANDREW J. OURT, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Report as Statistician of the Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities, made in April, 1876.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE, Esq., Boston.—"Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the year 1805," by Timothy Bigelow, with an introduction by Mr. Lawrence, his Grandson.

P. CUDMORE, Esq., New York.—His "Constitutional History of the United States," second Edition, 1875.

M. PIERRE MARORY, Paris, Fr.—His *Découvertes et Etablissement, des Français dans l'ouest et dans le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale, Première Partie, 1614-1684.*

REV. INCREASE N. TARBOX, D.D., West Newton.—His Life of Major-General Israel Putnam.

J. FLETCHER WILLIAMS, Esq. Saint Paul, Minn.—His "History of Saint Paul and Ramsey County, Minnesota."

MR. J. H. BAXTER, Chief Medical Purveyor, U. S. A.—His Statistics, Medical and Anthropological, of the Provost-Marshal-General's Bureau, 1861-65, in two volumes.

REV. J. D. CROSBY, Ashburnham.—His Remarks at the Dedication of Cushing Academy, September 7, 1875.

COL JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester.—Eleven books; and thirty pamphlets.

PROF. EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Amherst.—One pamphlet; and three circulars relating to Amherst College.

REV. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester.—One book; fifteen pamphlets; a manuscript list of the Bampton Lectures, from 1780, the time they were commenced; and one Thanksgiving Proclamation.

ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O.—Nine pamphlets.

HON. SOLOMON LINCOLN, Hingham.—Three pamphlets of early date.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston.—Bellin's *Déscription Géographique de la Guyane.*

REV. R. C. WATERSTON, Boston.—Forty-six photographs of American Indians, and seventy plates representing Types of Different Races.

THE LIBRARY—Sixty-five books; seven hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets, four manuscripts, two maps, and one engraving.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.—Busts of Washington, Lafayette, and Lincoln; a Heliotype of Washington's Autograph Address to the Officers of the American Army, at Newburg, N. Y., March 15, 1783; eleven pamphlets; and six files of newspapers.

Rev. GEORGE S. PAINE, Worcester.—Marshall's Naval Biography, twelve vols.; "Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore," eight vols.; "Bibliothèque Orientale," six vols.; American Almanac, nineteen vols.; Josephus' Works, four vols.; Annual of Scientific Discovery, four vols.; thirteen miscellaneous books, and sixty-eight pamphlets.

J. HENRY HILL, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-three volumes of American newspapers, 1855-1873.

PLINY EARLE, M.D., Northampton.—Fifty-five pamphlets relating to Insane Asylums.

Mr. JAMES BENNETT, Leominster.—Twenty-six periodicals.

CHARLES B. WHITING, Esq., Worcester.—Forty-six pamphlets.

Mr. BENJAMIN J. DODGE, Worcester.—Seventeen pamphlets; and various circulars.

H. H. EDES, Esq., Charlestown.—Four Charlestown pamphlets.

Hon. HAMILTON FISH, Washington, D.C.—Reports upon the Vienna Exposition of 1873, four vols.

Mr. FRANK LAWRENCE, Worcester.—Three photographs of the Winthrop "Stone Pot, tipt and covered with a Silver Lid," and the vouchers accompanying it.

Mr. F. W. MORRIS, Springfield.—The Early History of Springfield, 1636-1675.

JOHN T. CLARK, Esq., Boston —A fine heliotype of the Old State House as it was and as it is.

J. WARREN COTTON, Esq., Boston.—Cambridge in the Centennial.

Mr. SENECA G. LAPHAM, Milwaukee, Wis.—A Biographical Sketch of Increase Allen Lapham, LL.D., by S. S. Sherman.

The Misses BURNSIDE, Worcester.—Fifty-three arranged files of New York, Boston, and Worcester newspapers.

Mr. CEPHAS WILLARD, Petersham.—The Original Drawings and Working Plans for Bunker Hill Monument, by his brother, Solomon Willard.

W. T. FORSYTH, Philadelphia, Pa.—Carpenter's Hall and its Historic Memories.

CALEB B. METCALF, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty files of newspapers; and one hundred and seventeen pamphlets.

Messrs. NOYES & SNOW, Printers, Worcester.—"The History and Alumni Record of the State Normal School at Bridgewater, Mass."

Mr. HENRY J. HOWLAND, Worcester.—Songs of the League.



- Mr. William L. ... - The ... Centennial Proceedings ...
- Mr. ... - ... of 1902.
- Mr. ... - ... American Cyclopaedia, ... and heliotype: ... celebration at ...
- Mr. ... - ... terra cotta ... Brookfield, Mass.
- Miss ... - ... and sixty-four ...
- J. B. ... - The ... Report of the Board of ... of Boston.
- Rev. ... - ... at Templeton, Mass.
- Mr. W. H. ... - ... of ... money.
- William J. ... - ... Churches, ... and ... of ... B. Brigham, M.D.
- Andrew McF. Davis, Esq. - San Francisco, Cal. - History of the Public ...
- P. H. Perkins, Esq. - ... The Check List of ... Local History.



MESSRS. GEO. P. ROWELL & CO., New York.—The Newspaper Advertiser for October, 1876.

MR. JOHN G. SMITH, Worcester.—Thirty pamphlets; and twenty prints.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, 1875-76; and two pamphlets.

THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Buck's Early Accounts of Petroleum in the United States.

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Their Journal, Vol. XV., Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their Proceedings, second series, Vol. VI., No. 5.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Their Collections, Vol. XIII., Parts 2 and 3; and Bulletin, Vol. 8, Nos. 1, 2 and 6 12.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.—Their Journal, Vol. 45; and Proceedings, Vol. XX., Nos. 2 and 3.

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, No. 97.

THE PALEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.—Their Annual Reports for 1875-76.

THE COBDEN CLUB, London.—The History of Free Trade in Tuscany.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings at the Dedication of Hodgson Hall, Savannah.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—List of accessions from January to July, 1876.

THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Their Proceedings, No. 1.

THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, London.—List of officers and members for the year 1876.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Their Proceedings for 1875-76.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, Vol. VII.

THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Their Transactions, Vol. III. No. 3.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris.—Their Journal from September, 1875, to February, 1876.

THE DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.—Their Proceedings, Vol. 1, 1867-1876.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their Register, as issued.

THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings, Part 3 of 1875, and Part 1 of 1876.

VEREINS FÜR KUNST UND ALTERTHUM IN ULM UND OBERSCHWABEN. Four Numbers of their Journal of 1876.

- THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Their Transactions, Vol. III. Part 1.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ AMÉRICAINE DE FRANCE.—An Account of the Society and its Publications.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions, Part 1 for 1876.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Their Medical Communications, Vol. XII., No. 2.
- THE PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—The First and Sixth Annual Reports.
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Their Report for 1876.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their Proceedings June 14, 1876.
- THE CONGREGATIONAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY.—Memoirs of James H. and Edward M. Schneider.
- THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION OF MEDFIELD.—Account of the Bicentennial Commemoration of the Burning of Medfield in 1676.
- THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION OF LEICESTER.—Account of the Centennial Celebration at Leicester, July 4, 1876.
- THE TRUSTEES OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.—Their Sixty-Second Annual Report.
- THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Three files of Newspapers; and five Pamphlets.
- THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report; and the Bulletin, as issued.
- THE CITIZENS' EXCHANGE, Worcester.—Eight files of Newspapers.
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-two files of Newspapers.
- THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM.—Catalogue of the Library, Vol. 2.
- THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.—A Summary of their Seven Years' Work.
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their Nineteenth Annual Libretto for Concerts and Matinees.
- THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF WORCESTER.—Fifty-six files of newspapers, and one hundred and eighteen pamphlets.
- THE NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE LIBRARY.—The Annual Report for 1876.
- THE CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SPRINGFIELD.—The Annual Report for 1876.

- THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Fourth Annual Report.
- ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.**—The Supplement to their Classified Catalogue.
- THE EAST ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Third Annual Report.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.**—The Fifty-fifth Annual Report.
- THE STATE LIBRARY OF MICHIGAN.**—McCracken's History of Michigan.
- THE OHIO STATE LIBRARY.**—A Catalogue of the General Library, 1875.
- THE BRAZILIAN CENTENNIAL COMMISSION AT PHILADELPHIA.**—Four books, six pamphlets, and seven maps, relating to Brazil.
- THE WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.**—Three files of newspapers.
- THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.**—Public Libraries in the United States, their History, Condition and Management.
- THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.**—The Documents of the Second Session of the Forty-Third Congress, thirty-six volumes.
- THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.**—The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Part Second, Surgical volume.
- THE UNITED STATES ENGINEER DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.**—Four volumes of Explorations and Surveys.
- THE STATE OF OHIO.**—The Geological Survey of Ohio, Vol. 2.
- THE CITY OF BOSTON.**—The Siege and Evacuation Memorial; and the Declaration of Independence, with Washington's Farewell Address.
- YALE COLLEGE.**—Two College pamphlets.
- MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY.**—Two pamphlets relating to the School.
- THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY JOURNAL.**—The Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.**—Their Journal, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MUSICAL REVIEW.**—Their Review, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE NATION.**—Their paper, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE.**—His paper, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL.**—Their paper, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETOR OF THE AYER PUBLIC SPIRIT.**—His paper, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY SPY.**—Their papers, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.**—Their papers, as issued.
- THE PROPRIETOR OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS.**—His paper, as issued.

1928

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi annual Report, for the six months ending October 18, 1876.

The Librarian's and General Fund, April 22, 1876, was \$31,657.21

Received from dividends and interest since, .	710.78	
	<hr/>	
	32,367.99	
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . .	816.75	
Present amount of the Fund,		\$31,551.24

The Collection and Research Fund, April 22, 1876,

was	\$16,004.86	
Received from dividends and interest since,	561.46	
	<hr/>	
	16,566.32	
Paid for books and incidentals,	41.75	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		16,524.57

The Bookbinding Fund, April 22, 1876, was \$8,606.82

Received from dividends and interest since,	259.00	
	<hr/>	
	8,925.82	
Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary,	579.67	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		8,346.15

The Publishing Fund, April 22, 1876, was \$8,217.00

Received from dividends and interest since,	252.28	
“ “ sale of publications,	85.50	
	<hr/>	
	8,554.78	
Paid for printing of semi-annual report, . .	160.89	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,		8,393.89

<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , April 22, 1876, was .	\$12,992.14	
Received from dividends and interest since,	472.00	
Present amount of the Fund,		13,464.14
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , April 22, 1876, was	1,081.29	
Received from dividends and interest since,	43.68	
Present amount of the Fund,		1,124.97
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , April 22, 1876, was . .	\$1,285.99	
Received from dividends and interest since,	22.68	
Present amount of the Fund,		1,308.67
Total of the seven Funds,		\$80,718 63
There is a balance, from the gift of Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, for the purchase of local histories of,		69.32
Total of all the funds in hands of the Treasurer,		\$80,782.95
Cash on hand included in the foregoing statement,		\$1,112.95

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,500.00	
Railroad Stock,	5,300.00	
Railroad Bonds,	11,200.00	
City and County Bonds,	500.00	
Cash,	51.24	
		\$31,551.24

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,400.00	
Railroad Stock,	1,800 00	
Railroad Bonds,	9,800.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	424 57	
		\$16,524 57

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,300.00	
Railroad Bonds,	3,000 00	
Cash,	46 15	
		\$8,346.15

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Railroad Bonds,	\$7,000.00	
Railroad Stock,	200.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	193.89	
	<hr/>	\$8,393.89

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$2,100.00	
Railroad Stock,	800.00	
Railroad Bonds,	1,870.00	
City Bonds,	8,500.00	
Cash,	194.14	
	<hr/>	\$13,464.14

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
Railroad Stock,	400.00	
City Bonds,	500.00	
U. S. Bond,	50.00	
Cash,	74.97	
	<hr/>	\$1,124.97

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$200.00	
U. S. Bond,	50.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	58.67	
	<hr/>	\$1,308.67

Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/> <hr/>	\$80,713.63
-----------------------------------	-------------	-------------

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 18, 1876.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS,
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, October 21, 1876.

NO. 68.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT A

SPECIAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

MARCH 26, 1877,

TO TAKE NOTICE OF THE DEATH OF THEIR ASSOCIATE,

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT A
SPECIAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

MARCH 20, 1877,

TO TAKE NOTICE OF THE DEATH OF THEIR ASSOCIATE,

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D.



WORCESTER:
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
CENTRAL EXCHANGE.
1877.

PROCEEDINGS

AT A SPECIAL MEETING, MARCH 20, 1877.

AT a meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held at Antiquarian Hall this day at ten o'clock A. M., the President stated the object of the meeting to be to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Governor WASHBURN.

The Recording Secretary being absent, Isaac Davis was appointed Secretary *pro tempore*, and took the oath of office.

MR. SALISBURY, the President, thus addressed the Society :

Brothers of the American Antiquarian Society:

I KNOW that I have met your wishes and expectations in asking you to come together to exchange the sad thoughts which will be suggested by the intelligence that our honored and beloved associate, Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., the Secretary of this Society for Domestic Correspondence, died at his residence in Cambridge on

the 18th inst., at the age of seventy-seven years, one month, and four days. He had reached the fiftieth year of his membership in this Society, and his name is the second on the roll of living members. For twenty-eight years he was a Councillor of this Society, and he held the office of the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence for one year, and Secretary for Domestic Correspondence for ten years. The affectionate reverence that awaited him in this Society, and among the men of his time, was not that which "standeth in length of years," nor yet alone in "a pure and unspotted life," but still more in the unabated freshness and generosity of his services, that seemed to promise to be a perennial good. The history of this Society is marked by the frequent and earnest efforts of his influence and his pen; and you well remember the very interesting report for the Council, that he presented at the last meeting of the Society which, just now received from the press, will be read with a more tender interest. He was not a mere patron of history through the organization of this Society. He wrote valuable historical works of greater and less extent, marked with the copiousness and fidelity for which he was distinguished, that are so well known that I should not be justified in detaining you, to set forth their peculiarities and merits.

As we meet in this hall to deplore the loss of our able associate, it is fit that we should consider first what he has done to promote the objects for which we come here. But we cannot forget that this is but one of many paths of useful effort that were made smoother by his industrious feet. Useful labor was his elixir of life, and it might truly be said of him to the last,

“mobilitate viget, vires acquirit eundo.”

The American Antiquarian Society is not a recluse institution, for it is deeply concerned in the movements of the living world that surrounds it, and in the agency of its members in connection therewith. But I will leave it to those more able to do justice to the theme, to speak of the public services of Mr. Washburn, as a Governor of the State, as a Justice of the Superior Court, and as a member of both branches of the State Legislature, to which he was repeatedly elected for important occasions. When his last sickness occurred, he was in attendance as the senior member of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the most laborious legal committee. He will be remembered as an able advocate, and a learned and copious instructor in legal principles and practice in his chair as a professor, and in his volumes, which are the text-

books of the profession. In all movements for the moral and intellectual improvement of society he was ready, conspicuous and earnest.

Among his many and various efforts in furtherance of the education of the young, one that occurred in the vicinity of this hall is too important to be disregarded at this time. Eleven years ago when John Boynton, Esq., and Hon. Ichabod Washburn, sought to devise a system to give efficiency to their wealth in the establishment of the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science—the first and the only school in our country for the combined objects of the higher scientific culture and various merchantable shop-work—Mr. Emory Washburn, and another member of this Society, Rev. Dr. Sweetser, were the trusted advisers in the general plan and all the details of the enterprise. So much of success as has been obtained, must be credited to the wisdom of the inception.

A sense of religious obligation and of social duty was apparent in the character of our lamented brother, and therefore he was trusted; and his labors had a power beyond their own strength, in the sympathy with which he engaged the co-operation of others. His genial disposition gained the good will of many, who could not know, as we do, the value of his friendship. Friendship would lead me

personally back to happy boyhood on Leicester Hill, to the earnest and satisfactory associations of manhood, and to the agreeable and more confidential intercourse of age, but I will not follow now. These are sacred recesses of memory that should not be unveiled to the public eye. I will attempt nothing more than a brief performance of an official duty.

Mr. Haven, the Librarian, offered a series of Resolutions, and said:—

Mr. President :

THE relation of Ex-Governor Washburn to this Society was in some respects special and peculiar. It may be said to have been a portion of his education—an element of his intellectual development and culture. He began at the age of twenty-five to write the history of his native town, and belonged to that cluster of bright and earnest young men who established and sustained the *Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal*, and who became the working members, the *juniores ad labores*, of this institution. Of these fellow-workers in that able historical publication, when I came to Worcester, in 1838, Isaac Goodwin and Christopher C. Baldwin were dead, Joseph Willard had removed from Lancaster to Boston, William

Lincoln and Emory Washburn only remained — the one almost wholly literary in his tastes and pursuits, the other uniting an assiduous devotion to the law with as much attention to literature and history as professional duties would permit. While a resident in Worcester Mr. Washburn was always among the most active of the officers of the Society, and retained his interest when absence interfered with that degree of personal attention to its operations which it was his pleasure to afford. We find him, at the close of an honored and useful life, still an officer of the institution, the last to prepare the report of the Council to the Society, and, with a single exception, the oldest surviving member. These are some of the ties which have bound him to the Society, and that bind the Society to him, and almost entitle us to the place of kindred among the mourners at his grave. I beg to offer for consideration the following resolutions:—

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, — That by the death of Ex-Governor Washburn the American Antiquarian Society are called to lament the loss of an honored member and officer, endeared by intimate and genial intercourse through many years, a man of mark in the community, who has discharged important political and professional duties and held high positions of public dignity and trust.

Resolved, — That while we record our respect for his ability and unwearied devotion of time and strength to all his responsibilities, of whatever nature, we desire particularly to recognize his early love of antiquarian research, manifested in his valuable contributions to general and local history, and never wholly lost amid the distractions of a busy life.

Resolved, — That our lamented associate not only won distinction as a learned teacher and patriotic administrator of the laws, but set a striking example of eminent integrity and moral worth in all the relations of life.

Resolved, — That the Society will attend the funeral of their late associate in a body.

Resolved, — That these resolutions be communicated by the Secretary to the family of Governor Washburn, with an assurance of profound sympathy with them in their great bereavement.

Remarks by Ex-Governor Bullock.

Mr. President :

No one could have been more painfully surprised than I was, on my return last evening after a few days' absence, by the unexpected tidings of the death of our honored and venerable associate. Indeed, I hardly know what to say, or how to say anything, in the confusion of the moment, under the limitations which the emotions place

upon every capacity of reflection. Although Governor Washburn was almost the senior living member of our Society, himself born at the opening of the century, yet he was up to the last seen by all of us so fully in the enjoyment of the same mental and physical elasticity, which marked his life thirty years back, that I am quite sure we still associated him with thoughts of youth. The ever advancing revolutions of the calendar appeared to cast their shadow lightly over him and never to cast a chill over the vigor of his prime. I scarcely know of what other past associate member, unless we except the late Governor Lincoln, we bear about with us recollections so vivid with the picture of youthfulness borne in unimpaired outlines to the extreme verge of years. And now that he has been called from us, it is pleasing to reflect that no interval separated his life from ours until that life expired. In the studies and contemplations to which this Hall gives encouragement and dignity, he was never wanting. We may to-day well count it a memorial, alike honorable to him and gratifying to us, that only within the past few days we have had circulated among us the October Proceedings of this Society, which bear, as their characteristic, the able and forcibly written paper prepared by him,—his last contribution to us and to the whole public,—his parting legacy,

so to speak, of a noble centennial lesson, the fruit of his large attainments and ripened thought, the memorial alike of the character which he formed for himself in the early years of the century and of the instructions he would impart at the end of his share in it.

It would be impossible, as well as out of place that we should now review at large his lengthened career. He lived the life of a lawyer. The law is a stern mistress, but somehow he found time and opportunity to do much in a great many of the other relations of society. We have had few so conspicuous examples of a man equally steady, whether in his active or contemplative periods, to his profession, and at the same time giving to many and miscellaneous fields of science the benefits of as broad culture and unlimited industry as he bestowed upon his profession. As lawyer and magistrate, as scholar and man of affairs, as one tasteful in the finer æsthetics, and ready to plod till midnight, whether to help a client or a town or church, as one ready for a grave responsibility or for a light social occasion, always and everywhere not merely welcome but sought for, he is now in the mind's eye of thousands here and over the State, as they have seen him for ten or twenty or forty years, never changing, never tiring, never falling short of honorable degree and often rising

among the highest degrees of excellence. He had an instinct which prompted him to be true and faithful in all the miscellaneous duties of citizenship.

He will long be remembered by the people of Worcester, and I dare say by the people of Cambridge, quite as well for his life as a townsman as for higher or more distinguished relations of public trust. But amid all that was miscellaneous in his tastes and habits he especially proved his fealty to his profession and letters. In this particular he was an eminent exemplar for all educated men. Among the varied calls which social life made upon him he never forgot his profession, among the wearing duties of his profession he never turned away from letters. He illustrated these gentle pursuits in the closing part of his old age and made them as attractive and delightful as ever Cicero could describe them. Antiquarian Hall, the rooms of the Historical Society, many an institution of learning, all the Normal Schools of the State, the readers of his books at the bar and in the circle of laymen, all his old friends and associates, every one of us who had a student's table in his office, will ever be a witness of his fidelity to literature.

He was good and true for his country. He was a cheerful and unostentatious patriot. He was not blind and deaf as a partisan. I have known him

intimately in this respect, as have many of you, for more than the term of a generation of men, and I remember with delight that he was never narrow in his views or hot in his spirit. He usually acted with a party, but not as the slave of a party. He believed, as we all have to believe, in parties; he thought with an English writer that parties have to be maintained like coin with some considerable alloy of the baser metals, and he always sought to keep down the proportion of the alloy. He was not easily thrown out of his properties by political gusts, but was steady and equable. He was amiable in that as in all other things.

“A patriot’s steady course he steered,
Midst faction’s wildest storms unmoved;
By all who knew his mind, revered,—
By all who knew his heart, beloved.”

A person more simple and well grounded in his convictions of duty to the State could nowhere be found. It happened to me to be a witness of one instance of this kind during the late war, when I saw him bearing the musket of a private in a home company escorting the returned body of a dead soldier from the Boston and Albany Railroad station in Boston out to Cambridge. This impressive act, the return of a retired chief magistrate to the discharge of the simplest and yet grandest of

duties of the individual citizen, induced me to inquire of him about it,—and he told me he had done this same thing several times with the greatest pleasure, sometimes in the night, and over a long march as we all of us know. He was then considerably beyond sixty years of age.

Of course the moral characteristics of this kind of a man must be of the highest order. It was the moral strength of his character which was his higher force and power. When I first came to this city and into his office, Gov. Washburn was in the full measure of his professional success. Every litigant seemed his client. In court time he nervously swung his green bag through the whole day, from one jury over to the other jury. I saw that he got quite his share of cases, but I noticed that his leading competitors were clearer in statement, more incisive in their argument. Governor Washburn was never a rhetorician. I perceived, however, that there was a moral power of confidence behind him which was equal to the power of eloquence. He left many of his sentences incomplete and unsatisfactory to the cultivated ear; but the ear is only one of the approaches to the confidence of men, and Gov. Washburn had other accesses to their hearts. They believed in his honesty as a man, and very naturally spread the shadow of their belief in the man widely over the

character of the advocate. His great source of influence over juries was the kindliness, the genuineness, of his nature. And secondary to this quality in its higher development, there were other and what would by some persons be called inferior developments of the same nature. Underneath the ribs of this dry matter of fact addresser of juries, were moral susceptibilities which are found only in the best strung natures. He had a soul alive to music, alive to the sentiment of poetry.

Few men of our day have died under such universalities of friendship as Gov. Washburn. We know that he left behind him hosts of friends; we do not know, we do not believe, that he left behind him one enemy. This is one of the highest tributes possible to be paid to humanity. A French writer has said, that the highest life is to live so that, in ceasing to live, one does not cease to be loved. Our departed brother and associate has so lived that he cannot cease to be loved by those of us who knew him and who survive him. We shall love him for the scholar, the patriot, the man he was, because he illustrated the higher forms of our common humanity, of genuineness, of sincerity, of moral earnestness and devotion; because he bore with us a common allegiance to the brotherhood of his profession and the brotherhood of letters; because he never failed in his devotion and kindness

to the lot of all the human race; because he irradiated the daily duties of life with that taste and sentiment which soften them and make them easier and sweeter. We shall revere the memory of him who through a long life has been one of our most familiar, most trustworthy, most respected and most esteemed associates.

Hon. Isaac Davis said:—

HE could cheerfully endorse the resolutions offered. His acquaintance with Gov. Washburn dated back sixty years. He first knew him when he boarded with his mother in Leicester. He had been connected with him in cases before the Courts, and although they disagreed upon points at issue, and sometimes in political life, still he could say that never an unkind word passed between them. Gov. Washburn was always kind and genial, and he never heard a man speak unkindly of him.

He referred to an incident in the early life of Ex-Governor Washburn, which contributed much to his fund of local historical information—it being a journey on foot, with a fellow-student, from Boston to Montreal, on the route through the wilderness and along the line of march of the army of the French and Indian war.

Hon. P. Emory Aldrich said :—

HE had not so much acquaintance with Judge Washburn as some other members and could not speak of him as well as those who had known him longer. He knew him chiefly as a judge on the bench, and as a writer. As a writer he has laid the bar under great obligations. In the preparation of his works he never left anything for any one else to do. In all his works the authorities which he cited were each and every one personally examined by himself, and not by a student, and they could be relied upon. In closing, he said he was very glad to add his testimony to the truthfulness, as far as he knew it, of all that has been said of the character and life of the deceased.

Hon. Peter C. Bacon,—

Spoke with a great deal of emotion. He most heartily endorsed what had been said. The remarks of Governor Bullock are, he said, an admirable description of the character of the man. It was not so much what he said before a jury which had such great weight, it was the force of character which was behind the man. It was the knowledge that he made the most of the evidence which he had, and that he did not manufacture it. I can not let this opportunity pass without bearing my testimony

of my love and affection for the man. You all know the cordial greeting which he gave. In literature it is impossible for any man who has not been in the harness to write such books as those prepared by Governor Washburn. They are American books prepared by an American lawyer, and will remain the text-books from an American standpoint.

Hon. Henry Chapin said :—

HE should not speak of the deceased as a lawyer, a judge, nor a governor, but as a friend. To show the character of the man, he read a letter written in 1836 — a letter which the Judge said “so expressed the inner feeling of the man” that he had always kept it. Governor Washburn never forsook a friend and never lost one.

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted, and on motion of Mr. Paine they were referred, with the remarks, to the Committee on Publication.

The meeting then dissolved.

ISAAC DAVIS,

Secretary pro tempore.





1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.



3 6105 007 401 214

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

JUN 27 1996

JUN 27 1996

Stanford University Library

Stanford, California

Stanford University Libraries
All books may be recalled after 7 days
of the date of acquisition. For
more information, see the
Stanford University Libraries
Policy on Book Recall.

